DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 131 991 RC 009 576

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TITLE The Stability of Status Projections Among Young Women in the South.
REPORT NO USDA(CSRS)-S-81
PUB DATE Dec 76
NOTE 135p.; M.A. Thesis, Louisiana State University

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$7.35 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Academic Aspiration; Caucasians; Family (Sociological Unit); *Females; High School Students; *Longitudinal Studies; Masters Theses; *Occupational Aspiration; Parent Influence; *Rural Population; *Social Background; Social Influences; Southern States; Status

ABSTRACT

Data derived from the Southern Youth Study (a panel of 138 white rural females from Georgia, South Carolina, and Texas) were analyzed at two points in time (1966 when the respondents were sophomores and 1968) for purposes of: investigating the effect of social origin variables on status projections; showing how the effect of social origin variables on status projections might be mediated by earlier states of the same variables; and assessing the stability of status projections over time. A broad conceptual model of the female status attainment process was developed and cast within a systems framework emphasizing antecedent, intervening, and dependent variables. Utilizing this framework, a more restricted model was then developed positing father and mother's education and main breadwinner's occupation as measures of social origin with level of educational and occupational aspiration and level of degree of work as intervening attitudinal variables. Results indicated: both measures of parental education exerted statistically significant influences on the female's levels of educational and occupational aspiration; the educational and occupational projections measured at Wave I mediated the effects of parental education measured at Wave II; and there was a good deal of stability between waves for levels of educational and occupational aspiration. (JC)

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THE STABILITY OF STATUS PROJECTIONS AMONG YOUNG WOMEN IN THE SOUTH

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

in

The Department of Sociology

by
Nancy Jean Hatfield
B.S., Western Michigan University, 1974
December, 1976

RC009578

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the many people who helped me with this thesis. In particular, I want to thank Dr. George Ohlendorf, Dr. Alvin Bertrand, and Dr. Donald Hoffeld for serving on my examining committee. Dr. Ohlendorf's many suggestions were especially helpful, and I appreciate the extra time he contributed to this project. Kevin Smith was a tremendous help to me also, and I can't begin to thank him enough. Despite his own demanding schedule, he always found time to work with me, and his patience and assistance with the statistical aspects of this thesis were invaluable, to say the least. In addition, my special thanks goes to Dr. Lisandro Perez, Dr. F. Andrew Deseran, Tom Pinhey, and Gary Stokley for their kindness throughout the past year, and to Allen Comfort for the infinite number of hours spent in pleasant, albeit "unacademic" conversation. Also, Mrs. Beth Loup deserves a special thanks for typing this manuscript.

I find it difficult to adequately express my thanks to Dr. William Falk, but without a doubt, his influence has been greater than anyone else's in my entire academic career. His assistance and encouragement at the beginning of my graduate work made it possible for me to become more involved in the program, and throughout the past fifteen months, he has continued to offer whatever advice and guidance the various situations required. On

a professional level, I couldn't have asked for a more competent or efficient chairman for my committee. And more importantly, on a personal level, I couldn't have a more valued friend.

I'd also like to thank Jake Salter for providing the incentive to finish this thesis as quickly as possible, as well as offering much-needed diversions along the way.

Finally, I want to dedicate this thesis to my father, in recognition of his constant support and encouragement. He made the entire pursuit of a graduate degree possible, and I will always be sincerely grateful to him.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on one segment of the status attainment process for females. Specifically, the threefold purpose of the study is: 1) to investigate the effect of social origin variables on status projections, 2) to show how the effect of social origin variables on status projections may be mediated by earlier states of the same variables, and 3) to assess the stability of status projections over time. A panel of 138 white females from non-metropolitan areas in Georgia, South Carolina, and Texas comprise the sample used in this analysis. This panel is part of a larger, longitudinal research effort known as the Southern Youth Study.

The theoretical and empirical literature pertaining to occupational choice and status attainment processes for females are reviewed, and a conceptual model, cast within a systems framework, is presented. A recursive model, designed to test six theoretical propositions, is also developed.

Statistical techniques employed include path analysis and zero-order correlations, accompanied by some discussion of mean levels observed for this panel. Attitude stability is determined by the magnitude of the path coefficients between the three measures of status projections obtained at Wave I and Wave II, respectively.

The results indicate that both measures of parental education exert statistically significant influences on the female's levels of educational and occupational aspiration, although main

breadwinner's occupation has virtually no effect. The model fails to explain a newly conceptualized variable, level of degree of work.

The educational and occupational projections measured at Wave I mediate the effects of parental education on status projections measured at Wave II. Finally, a good deal of stability between waves is observed for levels of educational and occupational aspiration. Interpretation of the results, theoretical implications, and limitations of the study are also presented.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

Since the late 1960's, sociologists have been investigating the intragenerational process by which individuals attain educational and occupational statuses. Both occupational choice and status attainment theories, however, have historically been developed for white male populations, thus their applicability to women is problematic. One possible explanation for this tendency to restrict the analysis to males may be that in American society males are expected to pursue a career in the labor force, while for females, work often remains an option. As more women seek employment outside the home and their careers become more stable, however, researchers have begun to question whether or not previous occupational choice theories (Psathas, 1968; Zytowski, 1969) and status attainment theories (Alexander & Eckland, 1974; Falk & Cosby, 1975) can be applied to female populations. Although there is not complete agreement as to whether these processes differ for males and females, attention has recently been paid to what may be considered certain female-specific aspects.

Among those who suggest that a special theory of occupational choice or status attainment for women is appropriate, most agree that the influence of marriage and the subsequent presence of

children is substantial (Zytowski, 1969; Psathas, 1968; Osipow, 1975; Matthews & Tiedeman, 1964; Martin, 1971; Falk, 1975a; Alexander & Eckland, 1974). It has been suggested, for example, that in order to specify the dynamics of sex-specific consequences for educational attainment, the status attainment model should be extended to include such factors as marriage and fertility variables, and sex-role specific attitudes and socialization influences--factors not typically considered in the study of the male attainment process (Alexander & Eckland, 1974:680).

In an attempt to add to the growing literature in this area, this thesis focused on the dynamics of the female occupational choice process. The emphasis was placed on a girl's family background and the effect it has on her status projections. Also, these status projections were analyzed at two points in time to see what changes, if any, occurred as the girl matured. The influence of marital and fertility plans on the career choices of women, which is thought to be so significant, led to the development of a new concept, level of degree of work, and its inclusion in the model tested. The problem was restricted in its application to a group of Southern, white females.

Objectives

A conceptual model of the occupational attainment process for females, cast within a general systems framework, was first developed in this thesis. Actual testing, however, was made on a recursive

model of status projections with the following objectives in mind: 1) to investigate the effect of social origin variables on the status projections of females, 2) to show how the effect of social origin variables on status projections may be mediated by earlier states of the same variables, and 3) to assess the stability of those status projections over time. Specifically, the social origin variables posited in this model were father's education, mother's education, and main breadwinner's occupation. The status projections were the female's level of educational aspiration (LEA), level of occupational aspiration (LOA), and level of degree of work (LDW). (These concepts are discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.) Secondary analysis on data from the 1966- and 1968-waves of the Southern Youth Study (Cosby, et al., 1974) was used to evaluate the model's efficacy.

Significance

The conceptual model developed in this thesis represents an attempt to integrate some previous theories of the female occupational choice process within the current status attainment paradigm. Theories which significantly influenced the development of this proposed theoretical model include: conflicting notions of success (i.e., the educational-occupational role vs. the traditional wife-mother role) (Matthews & Tiedeman,

1964; Psathas, 1968; Falk & Cosby, 1975; Simpson & Simpson, 1961), the influence of the mother on the female's socialization process (i.e., role modeling) (Risch & Beymer, 1967; Herr, 1970; Klemmack & Edwards, 1973; Psathas, 1968; Tully, et al., 1974; Sell, 1974), and the sex-typed dimension of the occupational structure and its effect on the female's perceived attainability of occupations (Epstein, 1970; Astin & Myint, 1971; Gove & Tudor, 1973; Falk, 1975a). The actual analysis was limited to females with the intention of contributing to the increasing knowledge of the status attainment process for women.

The research is also significant in that it deals with a non-metropolitan panel of young women from the Deep South, a sector of society which has not received much attention from sociologists in the past. Additionally, this research adds to a growing literature produced by researchers associated with the Southern Youth Study (Cosby, et al., 1974; Falk, 1975b; Ohlendorf, 1975; Smith, 1976).

Finally, the analysis of attitude stability represents an attempt to investigate the dynamic aspects of occupational status orientations. (For a discussion of the importance of assessing attitude stability, see: Kuvlesky, 1970; Jacob, 1973; Ellis & Tyler, 1967).

Definition of Terms

Status projections. Kuvlesky developed the term status projections in order "...to move to a higher level of abstraction by subsuming both aspirations and expectations directed at any area of potential status attainment" (1970:5). He pointed out that each of these projections (aspirations and expectations) consist of two dimensions: 1) the status element, and 2) the strength of orientation (i.e., intensity of desire, and certainty of expectation).

Aspirations. An aspiration usually refers to an individual's orientation toward a goal. "The concept 'aspiration' can be broken down into three analytical elements: 1) a person or persons, 2) wanting (having an orientation toward or about), 3) a social object (i.e., a goal)" (Kuvlesky & Bealer, 1966:270). An occupational aspiration can then be conceptualized as an individual's desired occupational goal.

Expectations.[1] An expectation is the individual's estimation of his probable attainment in reference to a particular goal-area. An occupational expectation is, then, the occupational position an

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[1]Haller (1968) advocates a competing conceptualization of expectations. He prefers to use the term "expectation" only for those things alter wants for ego. Ego merely has a range of aspirations, with "realistic" aspirations indicating what the person expects to attain, and "idealistic" aspirations referring to what he hopes to attain. Similarly, alter's expectations for ego may range from "realistic" to "idealistic". By separating aspirations and expectations in this manner, Haller hopes to avoid terminological confusion.

individual expects to reach (Kuvlesky & Bealer, 1966). Because it is an expected occurrence, rather than a goal, an expectation need not be viewed favorably or desired. It represents the individual's assessment of both the limitations imposed by his environment and his abilities and values (Kuvlesky & Bealer, 1966). Expectations are often thought to be more closely related to existing occupational opportunities than are aspirations.

Level of aspiration. Haller and Miller (1971) prefer the term level of aspiration because they see the individual's orientation toward a goal as variable. "The person's goal is a selection of one among the alternative behavior levels that are possible with respect to an object...(and) these alternative behavior levels must vary in the degree to which they are difficult to achieve" (Haller & Miller, 1971:7). Therefore, the alternatives may be ranked in a continuum of difficulty. The central tendency of the person's orientation along this continuum of difficulty is his level of aspiration. In this thesis, examples of levels of aspirations associated with education (i.e., level of educational aspiration), occupation (viz., level of occupational aspiration), and degree of work are examined. While education and occupation are widely used in the status attainment literature, degree of work is a new concept and merits further discussion.

Degree of work. The importance of marital and fertility plans on the female's occupational projections and subsequent attainment is

emphasized in the literature reviewed in Chapter II (Zytowski, 1969; Psathas, 1968; Osipow, 1975; Matthews & Tiedeman, 1964). In an attempt to measure a dimension related to marital and fertility plans, the concept of "degree of work" was included in the present analysis. In general, the concept reflects the female's desire or commitment to pursue an occupation, based upon her plans to work on either a part-time or full-time basis, or not at all.

It should be pointed out that terms such as commitment, motivation, and desire have often been confused in the past (Sorensen & Winters, 1975). For example, strong commitment was sometimes used to describe the actions of a woman entering a typically male-dominated occupation, but there appeared to be little or no concensus among researchers as to appropriate terminology.

The term "degree of work" which was developed in this thesis, was designed to emphasize the hierarchical nature of the concept (i.e., a continuum ranging from not planning to work outside the home, to full-time work.) At issue here is not the type of work the female would like to do, nor even the motivation behind her plans to work or not to work. The overriding issue is simply the anticipation of time spent in the labor force: in short, if the female foresees working outside the home and the "degree" to which that "work" will be engaged in.

As with education and occupation, both aspirations and expectations relating to degree of work were obtained (i.e., aspirations referring to what the female wants to do about working outside the

home, and expectations referring to what she actually expects to do). These responses enabled the construction of the new concept, level of degree of work, which was included in the recursive model.

Organization

A review of the theoretical literature on the occupational choice and status attainment processes is presented in Chapter II, with emphasis on the special case of women. A conceptual model is presented, as well as the recursive model which was tested. Chapter III is a review of the more recent empirical literature regarding the status attainment process for females and the theoretical propositions from which the recursive model was constructed. Specifically, included in the discussion are studies investigating the effect of social origin variables on status projections, the argument for mediation effects in path models, and studies testing attitude stability through the use of panel data.

Methods and procedures are presented in Chapter IV, including information on the source of data, operationalization of the variables, analytical techniques employed, and the treatment of missing data. Tests of the recursive model and an analysis of the results are presented in Chapter V. Finally, the summary, implications, and limitations of this study are provided in Chapter VI.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THEORETICAL LITERATURE

This chapter reviews the theoretical literature pertaining to the occupational choice and status attainment processes. Major emphasis is placed on the special case of women, including such factors as the career patterns of females, marital mobility, role modeling, socialization influences, and the sex-typed dimension of the occupational hierarchy. The relationship between sex and the process of educational and occupational attainment is also discussed.

Theories of Occupational Choice and Status Attainment

To avoid confusion, it should be pointed out that the forthcoming discussion actually involves two areas of interest: 1) theories of status attainment and social mobility, formulated by sociologists, and 2) occupational choice theories, developed by vocational psychologists. While the two areas may be seen as complementary, they are not synonymous. Occupational choice researchers are concerned primarily with the development of the individual's vocational preferences. Social mobility and status attainment researchers, however, extend their focus to include actual educational and occupational attainment, as well as movement along the status hierarchy. Therefore, aspects of occupational choice theories may be incorporated into the more encompassing theories of social mobility and status attainment.

Occupational Choice Theories

Of the many different approaches to the study of occupational choice, the developmental framework is perhaps the most widely recognized (Ginzberg, et al., 1951; Super, 1957; Blau, et al., 1968). The basic assumption made by proponents of this approach is that as an individual matures, he reaches decisions with respect to his eventual occupation (Ginzberg, et al., 1951). There are three elements in the developmental theory of occupational choice: "It is a process; the process is largely irreversible; (and) compromise is an essential aspect of every choice" (Ginzberg, et al., 1951:186). In the early Ginzberg formulation, the individual was seen to pass through three periods of choice determination (fantasy, tentative, and realistic), with each stage representing increased realism of choices in terms of the possibilities for attainment.

During the pre-adolescent years, the child selects occupations he perceives as pleasurable. Most often these choices are high in status and unrealistic in terms of actual future attainment. In the fantasy period, the child is concerned only with desired goal, and not the means required to obtain the goal at this stage in his development (Ginzberg, et al., 1951). The career choices of the adolescent, however, are more tentative because the individual begins to perceive obstacles which may limit his earlier goal-centered choices. During this period, the range of occupational aspirations and

expectations becomes more defined. The occupational status eventually attained can, therefore, be viewed as the combined product of prior influences and current circumstances (Falk & Cosby, 1975).

Keeping within a developmental framework, Super (1957) described vocational development as the implementation of the self-concept in the context of the realm of work. "The basic theme is that the individual chooses occupations whose characteristics will allow him to function in a role that is consistent with his self-concept and that the latter conception is a function of his developmental history" (Herr, 1970:26). This illustrates Ginzberg's realistic stage of development, although in contrast to Ginzberg's theory, Super's stages of vocational development extend into the individual's retirement years, rather than stopping at adolescence.

Status Attainment Theories

Turning now to status attainment theories, much of the work in this area was influenced by a theoretical and methodological shift which occurred in the mid 1960's. Up until that time, the term "occupational" or "social" mobility was used to describe the process by which persons come to occupy a particular occupational status and any movement along the occupational hierarchy. Mobility researchers were primarily concerned with the process by which a vector of origin status, usually the father's occupation, was transferred to a vector of current social status, the son's occupation. The underlying assumption was that societal influences, rather than individual characteristics, were responsible for any intergenerational mobility.

Basically, the mobility model generated the expected occupational distribution of sons, given knowledge of their fathers' occupations (Carter & Carter, 1971).

Analysis in mobility research was based on difference scores, representing status mobility both within and between generations. The use of mobility tables and difference scores limited the analysis to description, rather than causal explanation (Carter & Carter, 1971), which led to dissatisfaction and eventual movement away from the method.

The ensuing shift from social mobility to status attainment research involved changes in both the focus of analysis and the underlying theoretical framework.

> Whereas sociologists were once concerned with the amount of intergenerational mobility observed, we are now concerned with the social mechanisms affecting the attainment of social status, irrespective of any mobility involved.
> (Carter & Carter, 1971:12)

The emphasis, therefore, shifted from societal-level processes to the individual-level process which operates through a variety of intervening variables to produce the person's current social state. Carter and Carter (1971) state that the shift from intergenerational to intragenerational mobility analysis came largely as the result of Duncan's redefinition of father's occupation. By defining the variable to represent "...the 'origin status' of a son as he approached entry into the labor force...(the) indicators of father's status cease to be treated explicitly as characteristics of the father, (and) are now considered to be of the son's origins" (Carter & Carter, 1971:22).

Changes in methodology paralleled the shift in focus and theory. Difference scores and mobility tables were dropped in favor of regression analysis, as status attainment researchers attempted to specify the causal sequence through which an individual reaches his position in the status hierarchy (Haller & Portes, 1973).

One of the first attempts at this new method of analysis was the Blau-Duncan model of status attainment which focused primarily on status transmission. This model was composed of two antecedent structural variables: father's education and father's occupation; two intervening behavioral variables: respondent's education and respondent's first job; and the output variable: respondent's occupation in 1962 (Blau & Duncan, 1967). The emphasis in this model was on the extent to which inherited status and previous positions in status hierarchies influenced subsequent levels of attainment. While the researchers found that parental status positions do have some significant direct effects, "...their primary influence on occupational attainment is indirect via educational level" (Haller & Portes, 1973:57).

The Wisconsin Model (Sewell, et al., 1969; Sewell, et al., 1970) evolved shortly thereafter as an extension of the Blau-Duncan model. Rather than status transmission, the Wisconsin model focused on the dynamics of status attainment and employed both social structural and social-psychological variables.

Both models posit the same causal ordering of comparable status variables: parental status ——→ educational attainment ——→ early occupational attainment. The Blau-Duncan model, however, posits a direct effect of the parental status variables on the educational and occupational attainment of the child, whereas the Wisconsin model posits that the effect of parental status variables is entirely mediated by the formation of educational and occupational aspirations and the impact of significant others' influences on the individual (Haller & Portes, 1973). This hypothesized impact of aspirations on status attainment implies that early occupational plans in some way set the boundaries within which the eventual level of attainment is apt to be located (Haller & Portes, 1973).

While both the Blau-Duncan and the Wisconsin models are thought to adequately explain the basic status attainment process for white males, there is still some question as to whether their application can be extended to women (Haller & Portes, 1973; Sewell, et al., 1970; Osipow, 1975). In general, previous research in this area was developed for male populations, with few attempts at investigating what may be considered the female-peculiar aspects of the process (Falk & Cosby, 1975; Alexander & Eckland, 1974).

The Special Case of Women

Caplow (1954) was perhaps the first to actually elaborate on the structural elements differentiating the occupational position of women from that of men. He noted, for instance, that women's

careers are handicapped by the demands and interruptions of household and family responsibilities. Consequently, the most common career pattern for a female is employment in the period between the termination of schooling and marriage. Even when the wife is employed, she is viewed as the secondary, rather than primary, breadwinner, a position which is lower in prestige and importance. Also, Caplow pointed out that a wife is residentially immobile (i.e., her residence is determined by the occupational location of the main breadwinner). Finally, women are confronted by a network of special statutes, rules, and regulations, such as bans on the employment of married women, limitations on simultaneous employment of husbands and wives, and seniority rules, which affect women because of the intermittent character of their occupational careers (Caplow, 1954).

Developmental Theories of Female Occupational Choice and Status Attainment

Psathas (1968) was one of the first who attempted to conceptualize the occupational choice process for females within a developmental framework. His major contribution was a set of contingencies which he believed would uniquely affect the process for women. These contingencies included the female's desired age of marriage, the desired social status of the marital partner, fertility aspirations, financial situation of the family, presence of brothers in the family to whom first priority for college financial support might be

given, mother's and father's education and occupation, and the general desire for a career in the labor market.

The following year, Zytowski (1969) created nine postulates concerning the career development of women, also utilizing a developmental approach. He specified three aspects of vocational participation which he felt were sufficient to distinguish female patterns of work: age of entry into the labor force; the span of participation; and the degree of participation (i.e., whether the female is working in a male-dominated or female-dominated occupation). According to his theory, the preference for a particular career pattern is determined by both internal and external factors, thus bringing motivational influences into the scheme (Zytowski, 1969).

One of the more recent attempts to explain the female occupational choice process was made by Falk and Cosby (1975) who reconceptualized the original Wisconsin model so that it would be more applicable to women. In this "new" model, both mother's and father's education and occupation are included as separate SES measures, since each parent might exert a unique influence during the girl's socialization. Marital and fertility plans are also included as processual variables as well as family finances and the presence of brothers in the family (Falk & Cosby, 1975).

Career Patterns of Females

A detailed analysis of the career patterns of males, introduced by Miller and Form (1951), was later simplified by Super (1957)

into four classifications: stable, conventional, unstable, and multiple-trial career patterns. When analyzing the career patterns of females, Super found that it was necessary to include three additional categories, due to the influence of the homemaker role. His seven types of female career patterns are: 1) the stable homemaking career, 2) the conventional career (i.e., work between the termination of schooling and marriage), 3) the stable working career, 4) the double-track career (i.e., combined work and marriage), 5) the interrupted career, where work is terminated for childbearing and childrearing activities, 6) the unstable career (i.e., numerous shifts from working to homemaking, often caused by irregular economic pressures), and 7) the multiple-trial career (i.e., a succession of unrelated jobs).

Martin (1971), who also investigated female career patterns, stated that "...the evolving pattern of the female's work life suggests that she will have three or perhaps four separate work careers rather than a lifetime of work" (Martin, 1971:17). This multilevel work life includes: 1) the single girl, 2) married and in economic straits, 3) married and with children, 4) separated or divorsed, and 5) widowhood. Several of these stages might represent cases where the woman would work out of necessity, rather than personal preference. Falk and Cosby (1975) suggest other possible stages, such as married without children, allowing an uninterrupted career; married without children, but the husband objects to the wife's pursuit of a career; etc.

Marital Mobility

Another aspect of the female status attainment process which deserves attention is the mobility from father's occupation to husband's occupation, usually referred to as the marital mobility of women (Tyree & Treas, 1974).

It may be assumed that marriage provides an additional type of occupational achievement for women. "The girl whose social position is a reflection of the status of her father grows into the woman, who, through her choice of a marital partner, can be ranked as the female half of a couple whose 'head' does X in his work" (Tyree & Treas, 1974:297).

Herr (1970) noted that girls tend to "fall" into career patterns with less thought than boys because cultural influences stress the greater importance of the vocational choices of males. Similarly, Turner (1964) found that women are less concerned with the specific occupation or even with the placement in a particular occupation-based stratum of society than men since their key status lies in their husbands' occupations. Therefore, the qualifications women seek in their husbands may be the best indicators of their own ambition (Turner, 1964).

Role Modeling

It is fairly well documented that the primary socialization agent for girls is their mother, and as Risch and Beymer (1967)

noted, most mothers are observed by their children in expressive roles which emphasize nurturance, rather than gratification, satisfaction, success, and accomplishment, as is true in instrumental roles. Therefore, it can be expected that the young girl will begin to limit her vocational choices to those occupations emphasizing expressive functions.

Sell (1974) also notes the importance of the mother as a significant other during the socialization period, in that she serves as both a model and as a definer (Haller & Woelfel, 1972). In most cases, the mother is responsible for child care duties which means that she spends a great deal of her time around the children. This frequency and duration of exposure grants her a position of power within the family (i.e., power to reinforce and thereby control the actions of others.) After reviewing other literature, Sell states that it has been found that both boys and girls do tend to imitate the adults with the greatest amount of this reinforcement power. It has also been shown that children identify most often with the like-sexed parent (Risch & Beymer, 1967), hence, girls begin to incorporate into their self-concept this identification with the mother.

Several other studies support the notion that the mother uniquely affects the daughter's later occupational choice by serving as a role model (Herr, 1970; Klemmack & Edwards, 1973).

> Employed mothers who work by choice...present a positive role model for their children and are more likely to train their offspring for independence, thus enhancing the probabilities that female children will themselves seek gainful employment. (Klemmack & Edwards, 1973:513)

There is some discrepancy among recent findings, however. For example, Tully, et al. (1974) cited several studies documenting the association between females' career orientations and maternal employment, yet their own study failed to support the hypothesized relationship. Neither males nor females with working mothers aspired to higher status occupations than males or females with non-working mothers. They also concluded that, regardless of social class, females whose mothers work are no more likely to aspire to nontraditional (i.e., male-dominated) occupations than are females with non-working mothers. This last finding is significant in that the male-dominated occupations are usually higher in status than female-dominated occupations. (This point is discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.)

Socialization Influences

While there is still some question as to the effect of maternal employment on the female's status projections, several other important points regarding the socialization of females are thought to influence their occupational choice process.

Matthews and Tiedeman (1964) outlined several attitudinal conflicts which have great bearing on the occupational development of most women. The first conflict has to do with the female's conception of male attitudes concerning her intellectual or occupational achievements. It appears that many women structure their lives on the view that men do not approve of career-oriented women, expecially

those who pursue careers in male-dominated occupations. Therefore, to maximize their chances for marriage, many will forego a desirable career in the labor market. Psathas (1968) elaborated on this by stating that a girl's perception of the attractiveness of a given occupation involves both her perception of how elibible males rate the occupation itself, and her perception of how eligible males rate the girl engaged in that occupation.

The next major conflict noted by Matthews and Tiedeman (1964) is the conflict between acceptance of the traditional wife-mother role and acceptance of the career-oriented role. According to Falk and Cosby (1975) and Tully, et al. (1974), the resolution of this dilemma is a focal point for an analysis of the career decisions of women. Psathas (1968) defined the traditional female role as a pattern of early marriage, the early arrival of children, and a career as a homemaker. If a traditionally-oriented female did decide to work after marriage, it was usually on a part-time basis and for relatively short periods of time. While women occupying traditional roles in society are seldom criticized, those seeking full-time careers can receive less support. Simpson and Simpson (1961) made the following comments:

> A career woman, if she is married, is condemned for being an unsatisfactory wife and mother. If she is unmarried, it is automatically assumed that she would prefer to be married and that her career is only a compensation for the lack of something she would rather have.
>
> (Simpson & Simpson, 1961:377)

They also found that a woman's chances of marriage are reduced as a result of extensive education or occupational success, and that single career women are quite often subjects of severe frustrations and feelings of inferiority. In view of the consequences, they believe that the easiest adjustment for most women would be to focus their ambitions on the home and family role, and avoid any strong commitment to occupational careers.

The Relationship Between Sex and Educational and Occupational Projections

The final attitudinal conflict noted by Matthews and Tiedeman (1964) was between the female's desired age of marriage and her plans to attend college (i.e., the earlier the female plans to marry, the less likely she is to aspire to attend college). This whole notion of a relationship between sex and the formation of educational plans has received quite a bit of attention in the past decade. For example, Sewell and Shah (1968) observed that, even after controlling for status background and ability, female educational aspirations and educational attainment were lower than males'. In a later analysis, Sewell (1971) also concluded that while females' high school grades are higher than their male cohort's, females receive less encouragement from their parents and peers to attend college, and hence, their levels of educational aspiration are lower. The period immediately following high school graduation can be especially critical to the female's

educational aspirations, according to Sewell (1971). He concluded that

> ...the narrow sex-role training that stresses household and family roles for women over educational and occupational opportunities--and which becomes most salient when young women for the first time face the realities of discrimination in higher education and the job market--plays a major part in depressing the women's post-secondary educational attainments. (804)

Several studies have found that female educational plans appear to be more closely tied to ascribed social origin criteria than are male educational projections. Sewell and Shah (1968) hypothesized that because of sex-role expectations operative in today's society, females' educational aspirations tend to be lower than males' and are more sensitive to the socioeconomic status of the parents. Alexander and Eckland (1974) also concluded that "...the relative importance of ability and status background factors for most outcomes in the school process model appears to be sex-linked" (680). Even after controlling on a large number of variables thought to be pertinent to the educational attainment process, these authors found a direct, unmediated depressant sex effect on actual educational attainment. This led them to conclude that a satisfactory explanation requires extending the status attainment model to include factors not usually considered when studying males. They suggest such factors as marriage and fertility variables, sex-role attitudes and socialization influences, and institutional discrimination (Alexander & Eckland, 1974:680).

The importance of significant others' influences on the status projections of youth was mentioned earlier in this chapter, and several studies found variations in parental and significant others' encouragement between the sexes. Alexander and Eckland (1974) found a slight negative consequence of being female on parental encouragement, but females enjoyed a slight advantage over males in the amount of peers' and teachers' influence. Similarly, Simpson and Simpson (1961) found that career-oriented females are influenced more by teachers, professors, and people in the intended occupations, than by parents, relatives, and peers. These women also named a larger number of influences than those pursuing a traditional career. Two possible inferences may be drawn from this: 1) that because the career woman faces a possible conflict of roles, she feels a need for more support and is, therefore, more apt to seek out and perceive those influences which support her career plans, and 2) that the career woman, because she is more emotionally involved in the career choice process, is more open to influence.

Picou and Curry (1973) concluded from their study that as females perceive greater interpersonal encouragement to attend college, their occupational aspirations increase. This encouragement, along with the females' academic performance, has a strong influence on their self-concept. "As females come to define themselves capable of college attainment, they also come to view high status occupations as viable roles for the future" (Picou & Curry, 1973:420).

Despite high occupational aspirations, however, the expectations of females are often not so optimistic. "Life findings among persons vocationally disadvantaged by race or economics, the vocational preferences of girls are generally as high as those of males, ...but their expectancies are not congruent" (Herr, 1970:37). Herr's explanation of this phenomenon is that females probably recognize the cultural constraints prohibiting access to their desired occupations.

Tully, et al. (1974), also noted that despite equally high status aspirations, males are much more likely than females to hold high status jobs in general, as well as the higher status jobs within occupational categories. They suggested that this disparity between the occupational aspirations and occupational attainment of males and females may reflect the more rigid male sex role operative in today's society. Whereas an occupation is normally considered a necessity for males, it is often only an option for females. Therefore, males may be forced to make decisions and plans which lead to more realistic aspirations than those of females. Similarly, it was noted that white females are more likely to aspire to nontraditional (i.e., male-dominated) occupations than white males. This may again be a function of the rigid male sex role, since it would be more socially acceptable for females than males to have nontraditional aspirations (Tully, et al., 1974). Males aspiring to female-dominated occupations would probably suffer a decrease in prestige, based on the fact that males usually hold the higher ranking positions on the occupational hierarchy. Another factor affecting women's vocational

aspirations is their knowledge that because of their traditional childbearing and childrearing activities, many will be forced to withdraw from employment for some period of time. Thus, women often choose occupations in which knowledge and skills will not be easily lost, thereby facilitating their return to work at a later time, if desired (Zytowski, 1970).

The Sex-typed Dimension of the Occupational Hierarchy

The final point to discuss concerning the literature on sex roles has to do with the sex-typed dimension of the occupational hierarchy. "Similar to discrimination which prohibits access to some occupations because of racial criteria, sex-typing operates to restrict occupations open to girls" (Herr, 1970:36). Although women comprise approximately 38 percent of the United States labor force, they are concentrated in a relatively few occupations. In 1970, for example, women comprised over 75 percent of such positions as bookkeepers, health workers, secretaries, and telephone operators (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1976).

There is, in some cases, a basis for this distribution which stems from sex-linked factors such as physical strength (Zytowski, 1970), but Slocum (1966) noted that the patterns of occupational participation by women are determined largely by culture, especially the expectations concerning the occupational roles of women. These, he stated, are governed to an appreciable extent by tradition. Women

typically worked in occupations requiring contact with people, which supposedly enabled them to function in their traditionally femine roles.

Risch and Beymer (1967) contend that the occupational system provides a primary source of need gratification. Some occupations emphasize instrumental functions, placing high standards on achievement, while other occupational groups emphasize expressive functions, with standards of gratification. According to these authors, a person's occupational choice is "...a function of the role an individual assumes" (88). Therefore, most employed women will be found in those occupations characterized as expressive.

Epstein (1970) stated that males predominate in the high-ranking professions, while the occupational distribution of females seems to reflect their "second-class" ranking. Even within typically male occupations, the areas occupied by women tend to be less prestigious.

> As long as certain occupations are defined as male, women who seek entry to them will be defined as social deviants and subjected to social sanctions. As a result, they will be less often motivated to even consider professions defined as incompatible with women's other roles.
>
> (Epstein, 1970:165-6)

Astin and Myint's study (1971) confirmed that typically masculine occupations tend to lose more women than men over time.

Treiman and Terrell (1975) argue, however, that labor market discrimination does not extend to the status of the work open to women or to the qualifications demanded of them. The fact that women earn substantially less than men (Fuchs, 1973; Suter and Miller, 1973)

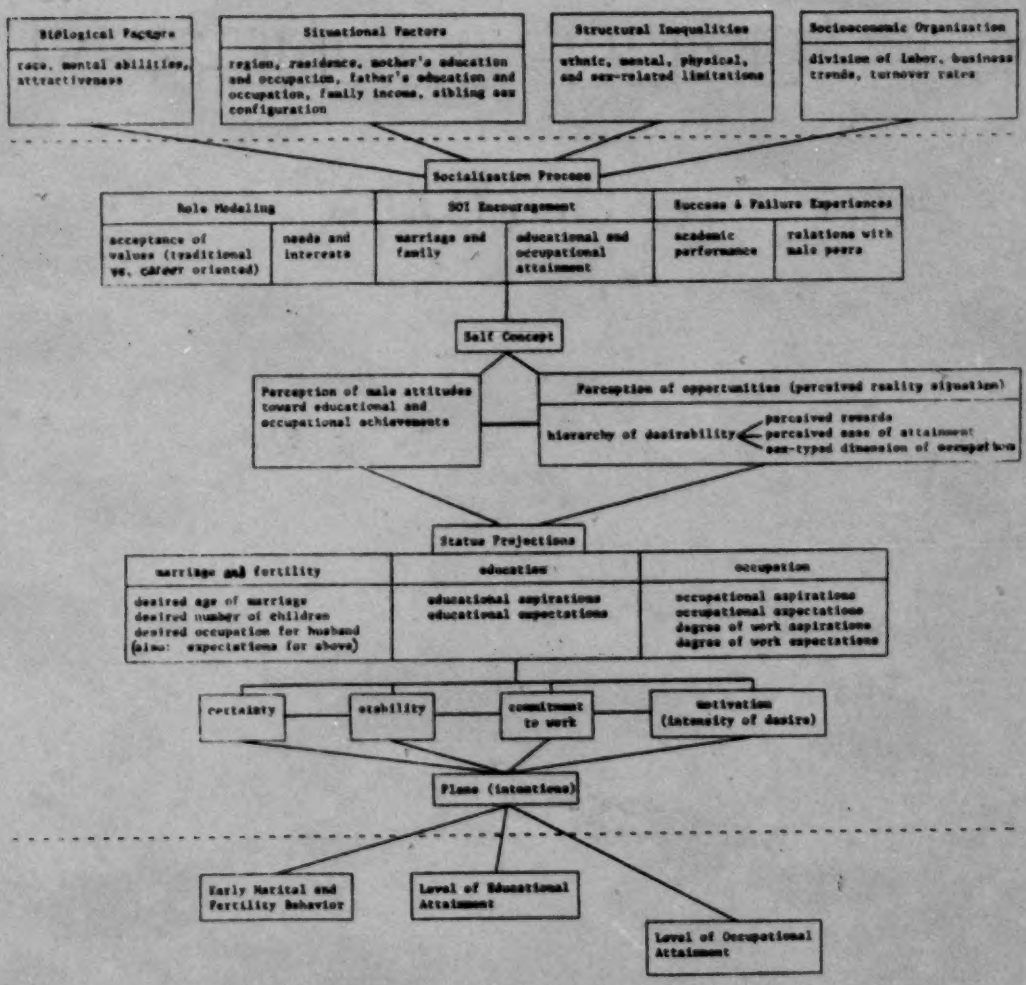
is largely due to the temporary and intermittent character of married women's careers. Never married women earn substantially more than women who have, or have had, a husband, but this reflects the fact that most single women are better educated, work more hours per year, and have had more work experience (Treiman & Terrell, 1975). The income difference not attributable to work experience can probably be considered the combined result of direct discrimination against female workers, institutional constraints on married women, and norms requiring married women to consider the non-income attributes of jobs, according to these authors.

As was mentioned previously, most status attainment models were originally developed for male populations, with few attempts made to investigate what may be considered the female-peculiar aspects of the process. In order to better understand the factors leading to the status attainment of females, a broad conceptual model, based primarily on the literature reviewed in this chapter, has been developed. The model is discussed in the remaining section of the chapter.

Development of a Conceptual Model of the Status Attainment Process for Females

It is felt that a systems framework is applicable to the study of the occupational attainment process for women, and Figure 1 depicts a proposed conceptual model of this process. The model represents an attempt at integrating previous theories and suppositions,

Figure 1. A Conceptual Model of the Status Attainment Process for Females



and provides a broad, conceptual framework from which the recursive model actually tested is drawn.

The processual nature of the occupational attainment process for females is emphasized by conceptualizing the systemic components as input, throughput, and output variables. These variables are discussed briefly before the recursive model is presented.

Antecedent Structural Factors (Inputs)

The first group of structural factors are the biologically determined variables: race, mental abilities, and attractiveness. These variables are characteristics of the individual from birth, and they are said to have certain societal-cultural meanings attached to them (Falk, 1975a).

The second group of structural factors are sometimes referred to as the ascribed statuses of the individual. Region and residence are thought to be related to the opportunity structure confronting the youth (Sewell, et al., 1970; Picou & Curry, 1973). Mother's education and occupation have a bearing of the female because of the role modeling which occurs during her socialization (Risch & Beymer, 1967; Sell, 1974; Herr, 1970; Klemmack & Edwards, 1973). Father's education, occupation, and family income are frequently-used measures of the socioeconomic status of the family, which may also affect the status projections of the youth (Sewell, et al., 1969; Sewell, et al., 1970; Bayer, 1969a, 1969b). Family income and

sibling sex configuration are thought to be especially significant for females' educational plans, since brothers in the family may receive first priority for college financial support (Psathas, 1968).

Structural inequalities refer to constraints on the opportunity structure the youth encounters (Falk, 1975; Smith, 1976). Females are apt to face a network of special rules and regulations, such as bans on the employment of married women and limitations on the simultaneous employment of husbands and wives (Caplow, 1954). Similarly, socioeconomic organization, including the division of labor in the society, business trends, and turnover rates, also relate to the female's occupational choice process by affecting the opportunities available to her (Falk, 1975a).

Intervening Variables (Throughputs)

The intervening variables in this model may directly affect the system outputs, and they may also mediate the influence of the antecedent variables on the desired outputs. The factors which enter into the system during the female's socialization process are believed to be crucial to her eventual status attainment. The mother is the primary socialization agent for females, and as a result of the mother's influence, the girl accepts or rejects values on marriage and the family, and educational and occupational achievements (Matthews & Tiedeman, 1964; Falk & Cosby, 1975). In most cases, the girl at this time will begin to identify with either

the expressive or instrumental role which the mother has adopted (Risch & Beymer, 1967; Sell, 1974). Needs and interests are also thought to relate to the girl's preference for either an expressive or instrumental role (Risch & Beymer, 1967).

The influence of significant others has received a great deal of attention from status attainment researchers in the past (Alexander & Eckland, 1974; Sewell, 1971; Simpson & Simpson, 1961; Picou & Curry, 1973). Females have been found to receive less encouragement from parents to attend college, possibly because parents emphasize the traditional values of marriage and a family to their daughters. Females may enjoy slightly greater encouragement from peers and teachers, however (Alexander & Eckland, 1974).

The success and failure experiences of the female will, in all probability, affect her decisions about future plans. Poor academic performance, for example, could easily discourage the female from aspiring to higher levels of education. Similarly, a girl who has difficulty in relationships with her male peers may decide to concentrate on educational or occupational achievements, rather than aspiring to an early marriage.

All of these factors previously discussed will affect the development of the female's self-concept, and it, in turn, will affect the remaining variables in the system.

The girl's perception of male attitudes toward her achievements has a great deal to do with her plans and subsequent behavior. For

example, many women will forego a desirable career in the labor market in favor of the security of marriage, based on their assumption that men hold negative opinions of career women (Matthews & Tiedeman, 1964; Falk & Cosby, 1975). The sex-typed dimension of the occupational heirarchy may also affect the girl's perception of the choices which are available to her, depending upon her acceptance of the traditional sex roles introduced during socialization (Tully, et al., 1974; Zytowski, 1970).

The next group of variables considered are the status projections. For the traditionally-oriented female, these projections will focus primarily on marriage and family considerations, such as desired age of marriage, and desired number of children. The female may also seek certain qualifications in a husband, since the key status for a married woman often lies in the husband's occupation (Turner, 1964; Tyree & Treas, 1974).

The development of educational aspirations and expectations and occupational aspirations and expectations has been shown to significantly affect later attainment (Haller & Portes, 1973; Sewell, et al., 1969; Sewell, et al., 1970). It is also felt that the female's degree of work projections will exert similar influences on her eventual attainments. As stated previously, this concept of degree of work is largely exploratory in nature, but the development of these aspirations and expectations is thought to occur at the same point in time as the educational and occupational projections of the female.

Certainty and motivation (i.e., intensity of desire) are combined into what Kuvlesky (1970) calls the strength of orientation of a status projection. It is believed that the greater this strength of orientation, and the greater the female's commitment to work or marriage, the more likely she will be to pursue the projections previously indicated, especially her aspirations, since they represent her desired goals. Similarly, stability of attitudes may indicate a greater degree of certainty or motivation, which will again be reflected in the female's plans.

Intentions (plans) have been separated from aspirations and expectations in this model, although it has not been established that the distinction is made in reality. It has been suggested, however, that the idea has merit, especially for individuals whose aspirations and expectations are quite divergent. In these cases, ". . . intention may provide a better prediction for status attainment than either aspiration or expectation used alone or some index of both" (Kuvlesky, 1970:10-11). In this model, plans pertain to marriage and fertility, education, or occupation, and it is felt that these variables will be strongly related to the output variables of the system.

Dependent Variables (Outputs)

The dependent (output) variables in the conceptual model are early marital and fertility behavior, the level of educational attainment, and the level of occupational attainment. These variables,

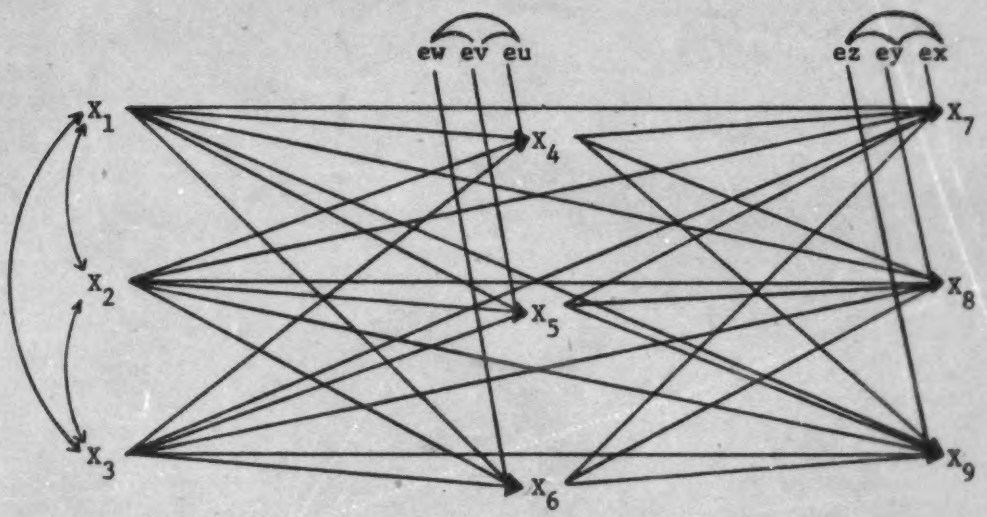
in all probability, are interrelated in some way, but this model does not attempt to explain the possible causal sequences. The only indication of such a relationship is the placement of occupational attainment slightly below educational attainment, signifying the assumed temporal order between these two variables. It is generally accepted that educational attainment occurs prior to occupational attainment, but again, this point is not at issue in this discussion.

Development of the Recursive Model of Status Projections

The recursive model in this thesis (Figure 2) was derived from the theoretical framework developed in the conceptual model previously presented (Figure 1). The model was designed to test the following three relationships: 1) the effect of social origin variables on status projections, 2) the mediation of that effect on subsequent status projections by earlier states of the same variables, and 3) the stability of status projections over time.

Path analysis and path models such as the one developed in this thesis require the temporal ordering of all but the first variables in the system (Bayer, 1969b:554). Ideally, causal orderings should be determined, but because causality is difficult to establish, meaningful temporal orderings are most often used instead. The social origin variables (father's education, mother's

Figure 2. A Recursive Model of Status Projections



X_1 = Father's education

X_2 = Mother's education

X_3 = Main breadwinner's occupation

X_4 = Level of educational aspiration in 1966

X_5 = Level of occupational aspiration in 1966

X_6 = Level of degree of work in 1966

X_7 = Level of educational aspiration in 1968

X_8 = Level of occupational aspiration in 1968

X_9 = Level of degree of work in 1968

education, and main breadwinner's occupation) considered in this analysis are present at birth, therefore, it is consistent with reality to show these variables as occurring first in the model.

It is more difficult, however, to establish the temporal order of the status projection variables (level of educational aspiration, level of occupational aspiration, and level of degree of work). It could be suggested, for example, that an individual's educational aspirations and expectations would directly affect occupational plans. A girl who expects to quit high school before graduating would, in all probability, limit her occupational expectations to jobs requiring little formal education. On the other hand, occupational projections may determine an individual's educational plans (e.g., the girl who aspires to becoming a professional would be apt to plan to attend a college or university.) Another possibility would be that the female's degree of work aspirations would affect both her educational and occupational projections. For instance, a girl who does not plan to work outside the home after marriage may lower her levels of educational and occupational aspiration accordingly.

There are still other plausible ways to order these variables, hence, the task of establishing a definitive causal sequence among them is problematic. Therefore, it was felt the most appropriate solution was to show these variables occurring simultaneously at each of the two points in time. In other words, causal priority

was not assigned to any of the status projection variables at either 1966 (Wave I) or 1968 (Wave II).

This arrangement of the status projection variables is also supported by the status attainment literature within the developmental paradigm. The Wisconsin model (Sewell, et al., 1969: Sewell, et al., 1970) is perhaps the best example. In this model, social origin variables are posited as the antecedent factors which occur first and are directly related to level of educational aspiration and level of occupational aspiration. The latter two status projection variables are shown as occurring simultaneously, as they are in the recursive model in this thesis.

A second example is the model of the status attainment process for women developed by Falk and Cosby (1975), which included marital and fertility plans, as well as LEA and LOA. Levels of educational and occupational aspiration were again posited as occurring simultaneously. This temporal arrangement was not questioned, although the placement of marital and fertility plans was debated. All four variables could feasibly occur at the same point in time, or marital and fertility plans could occur after LEA and LOA. Falk and Cosby depicted these as occurring concurrently. In all cases, however, the simultaneous placement of LEA and LOA in the model remained unchanged.

It should again be pointed out that the concept of degree of work is largely exploratory in nature. Therefore, no previous models

can be used to illustrate the proposed temporal order of this particular variable. It seems reasonable to assume, however, that this status aspiration would develop along with educational and occupational aspirations.

Relevant empirical literature pertaining to the recursive model and the three relationships it is designed to test is discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF RELEVANT EMPIRICAL LITERATURE

This chapter reviews the recent empirical literature pertaining directly to the recursive model developed in this thesis. Specifically, the topics include: 1) the effect of social origin variables on status projections, 2) the argument for mediation effects, and 3) the stability of status projections over time. In addition, the theoretical propositions which led to the development of the recursive model are presented at the end of the chapter.

Social Origin Variables and Status Projections

Models of the status attainment process generally posit some sort of direct effect between social origin variables and eventual educational and occupational achievements. While many researchers stress mediation effects which reduce the influence of social origin variables during the process, direct effects have also been observed in some of the recent empirical studies, and this section provides a discussion of such findings.

The formation of educational plans appears to be more closely related to ascribed social origin criteria for females than for males (Sewell & Shah, 1968; Alexander & Eckland, 1974). Conversely, the educational plans of males are more strongly tied to academic ability. Alexander and Eckland, in a retest of Sewell and Shah's

study, found status background and ability coefficients for the educational attainment of women of .397 and .232, respectively. For males, the respective coefficients for educational attainment were .302 and .374. They concluded, therefore, that status ascription is more important for the educational outcomes of women. In addition, this finding was consistent for both goal orientations and actual attainment.

Bayer (1969a) came to a similar conclusion, observing that the direct effect of SES on educational aspirations was reflected in the path coefficient of .228 for males and .250 for females. The socioeconomic index used in this study was a composite score based on such items as father's occupation, father's and mother's education, and family income (Bayer, 1969a:241).

The effects of origin-status variables on educational expectations were subsequently studied by Hout and Morgan (1975). Although these effects were generally found to be weak or nonexistent as direct effects, the authors noted that for the female groups, direct status effects were observed, net of parental-encouragement. Father's occupational status was directly related to the educational expectations for white females. For black females, the education of the family head had a similar effect. Finally, the number of siblings was found to have a strong negative effect on the educational expectations of white females.

Tully, et al. (1975) noted that the social class level of the family appears to be directly related to the occupational aspirations

of the child. Their data indicated that for white males and females, the higher the social class background, the greater the number of respondents aspiring to high status occupations. This relationship was generally stronger for females than for males. White females from higher social class backgrounds were also more likely than females from lower SES backgrounds to aspire to non-traditional (i.e., male-dominated) occupations.

It appears, in general, that social origin variables do exercise direct effects on females' status orientations and attainments. The recursive model in this thesis specifically tests for the effects of father's education, mother's education, and main breadwinner's occupation on the educational and occupational projections of females.

The Argument for Mediation Effects

Although the main concern of the Blau-Duncan (1967) model of status attainment was status transmission (i.e., the extent to which social origins relate to subsequent attainment), mediation effects were found to exist. Their results indicated that while parental positions exercise some significant direct effects on occupational attainment, their primary influence is indirect via educational level (Haller & Portes, 1973). Mediation effects were a major contribution of the Wisconsin model (Sewell, et al., 1969; Sewell, et al., 1970), however, which attempted to complement the

general model posited by Blau and Duncan by specifying the social-psychological intervening factors influencing the process of status attainment. Direct effects of parental status on both educational and occupational attainments were found to disappear when mediating variables were considered. "Indirect parental status effects occur primarily through significant others' influences as the latter affects the formation of status aspirations and acts directly on educational attainment" (Haller & Portes, 1973:62). Practically all the effect of the family's socioeconomic status on subsequent attainment is due to its effect on the types of significant others' influences (SOI) the person receives during adolescence.

The recursive model tested here does not address the question of significant other's influences on status projections, however. Therefore, the wide variety of research which investigates the effects of SOI on status attainment is not discussed further.

What is important for this analysis is the role of status projections (i.e., educational, occupational and degree of work aspirations and expectations). The impact of such intervening variables are summarized by Sewell, et al. as follows:

> ...one's cognitions and motivations (including, among others, knowledge, self-concept, and aspirations) are developed in structured situations (including the expectations of others), and one's actions (attainments in this case) are a result of the cognitive and motivational orientations one brings to the action situation, as well as the factors in the new situation itself. (1969:83)

The results of their study confirmed the notion that aspirations, which the authors consider to be a special class of attitudes, do perform mediational functions in transmitting antecedent factors into subsequent behaviors (Sewell, et al., 1969).

Bayer (1969b) also found that a substantial portion of the effects of aptitude and socioeconomic status on age at marriage is mediated through life plans variables. Life plans, in Bayer's study, were assessed from educational expectations and expected age at first marriage. The indirect effect of the socioeconomic variable was found to be more than one-half of the total influence of this variable for males, and more than two-thirds for the females. Bayer's final analysis also indicated that the effect of educational plans, as well as ability and socioeconomic level, is substantially mediated through marriage age expectations.

Stability of Status Projections Over Time

Theories of educational and occupational attainment have been based primarily on dynamic models of the status attainment process. Advocates of the developmental approach to the study of occupational choice, for example, contend that as the individual matures, his occupational choices will become more realistic. Expectations, in particular, are expected to shift downward over time as the individual becomes increasingly aware of constraints operative in society and his own physical and mental limitations. This concept of increasing by the seven fixed-choice responses whon above, were recoded into

realism of choice was utilized by Ginzberg, et al. (1951) in their theory of the development of occupational choice among males to explain changes in status projections as the individual adjusts to the perceived reality situation. In general, it may be said that the developmental approach carries with it the assumption of a gradual attitude stabilization, but with a continual possibility for change (i.e., as the individual matures, his status projections will vary according to the opportunities he perceives available to him at any given time.)

Much of the empirical work in the area of status attainment, however, has been designed to focus on a point-in-time "occupational choice" (Jacob, 1973). The dynamic aspects of the process, such as certainty and stability, have been ignored while researchers concerned themselves primarily with the status level of occupational projections.

It should be noted, however, that an analysis of attitude stability requires the use of panel data, which may help to account for the rather limited attention this aspect of status projections has received in the past. In all longitudinal studies, data are collected at different points in time, thus allowing the researchers to report changes over time. Panel studies are unique in that the data are collected from the same sample of respondents at each wave. The sample for such studies is known as the panel. Although panel studies most closely approximate the classic laboratory experiment and are, therefore, considered the most sophisticated survey design for most explanatory purposes, they are less frequently conducted

than other studies in survey research. Possible explanations for this include greater expense, the problem of panel attrition, and the tendency to be more time-consuming (Babbie, 1973:64).

The recursive model in this thesis included a test of attitude stability between the respondents' sophomore and senior years in high school. Specifically, the attitudes tested were respondents' aspirations and expectations for education, occupation, and degree of work.

The ages of the respondents in this panel of Southern, non-metropolitan females may be said to correspond approximately to the tentative and realistic stages defined by Ginzberg, et al. Therefore, the hypothesis of increasing realism of choice could be expected to apply to this study, or others utilizing the same data base.

Kirklin (1974) tested attitude stability on a female subset of the same data base used in this thesis and found that the hypothesis of increasing realism of choice was not supported. Her results indicated that the females' educational and occupational aspirations remained in the medium to high range levels (i.e., anticipating college attendance and high prestige occupations) at all three waves of the study. There was even a slight tendency to raise both LEA and LOA over time, according to the author.

Several aspects of the data set reinforce Kirklin's finding that the hypothesis of increasing realism of choice is not applicable to this panel. First, the medium to high level LOA's and LEA's selected by the majority of the respondents at Wave I meant there

was ample room for downward shifts in levels of aspirations during subsequent waves. Kirklin found, however, that these expected "realistic" attitude changes did not occur over time. The second aspect has to do with the social origins of the panel. The majority of these Southern, nonmetropolitan females came from low income counties. It is generally thought that this population will encounter special problems in occupational attainment (Kirklin, 1974), yet high levels of aspirations were maintained by these women, even as they entered Ginzberg's realistic stage of development.

Jacob (1973) was interested in whether or not changes over time in the prestige level of occupational status projections are predictable based on given types of occupational value orientations. Specifically, he hypothesized that respondents with an "extrinsic" reward orientation were more likely to raise their level of status projections than were respondents with either a "people" or "intrinsic" reward orientation.

After reviewing past empirical literature regarding changes in occupational status projections, Jacob noted the following trends: 1) occupational status projections are highly unstable over time, 2) projections of higher SES youth tend to remain either stable or change to higher status levels over time, and 3) projections of urban youth are more likely to shift to higher status levels than are the projections of rural youth and the higher the status

level of projections expressed, the more likely they are to remain stable over time (Jacob, 1973:10). The results of his own research, using a male subset of the same data base used in this thesis, indicated that the occupational status projections were, as expected, highly unstable over time. Approximately 75 percent of the respondents changed the prestige level of their status projections between Waves I and II. Among those who did change, however, the tendency was predominantly to raise, rather than to lower, the prestige level of status projections. This finding appears to contradict the increasing realism of choice hypothesis, although on an aggregate basis, expectations were lower than aspirations and were the more likely of the two to shift downward over time.

A third test of attitude stability, also performed on a female subset of the data base, was made by White (1974), who analyzed black and white lower and middle class respondents. Her analysis of white lower class females showed that intergenerational occupational mobility attitudes were more stable than intergenerational educational mobility attitudes.[2] Among the white middle class females, however, the reverse was observed. White also noted that the mobility attitudes of the white middle class expressed at Wave II reflected

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[2]Intergenerational occupational mobility was operationalized as the difference between SEI scores of level of occupational aspiration for desired mate and main breadwinner's occupation at Waves I and II. Intergenerational educational mobility was operationalized as the difference between level of educational aspiration for self and educational level of mother (White, 1974:81).

a constricted range as compared to those attitudes expressed at Wave I. The developmental pattern observed in the white lower class, however, was the opposite of that observed in the white middle class. In the former, the mobility orientations at Wave II were generally lower than the mobility orientations at Wave I. According to the author, this trend could have been due to a realization of structural goal blockages or personal goal blockages, such as poor academic performance or the expectation of marrying a lower class husband.

On the basis of these three previous studies, it appears that the hypothesis of increasing realism of choice does not seem particularly applicable to the panel in the S-81 project. There are cases, however, where such an explanation may be considered appropriate, and the model tested in this thesis adds to the knowledge of the dynamics of status projections for this particular panel of women.

Theoretical Propositions Tested Via the Recursive Model

The previous review of theoretical and empirical literature supports the formulation of the following propositions, which are tested via the recursive model.

Proposition One. Social origin variables will be directly related to and affect one's level of educational aspiration.

Proposition Two. Social origin variables will be directly related to and affect one's level of occupational aspiration.

Proposition Three. Social origin variables will be directly related to and affect one's level of degree of work.

Proposition Four. Social origin variables and status projections in 1966 will be directly related to and affect one's level of educational aspiration in 1968, with the effects of social origin variables on level of educational aspiration in 1968 being mediated by the status projections in 1966.

Proposition Five. Social origin variables and status projections in 1966 will be directly related to and affect one's level of occupational aspiration in 1968, with the effects of social origin variables on level of occupational aspiration in 1968 being mediated by the status projections in 1966.

Proposition Six. Social origin variables and status projections in 1966 will be directly related to and affect one's level of degree of work in 1968, with the effects of social origin variables on level of degree of work in 1968 being mediated by the status projections in 1966.

CHAPTER IV

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

This chapter contains information about the sample used in this analysis, the collection of data, operationalization of the variables, analytical techniques employed, and the treatment of missing data.

Source of Data

The data used in this study were taken from Research Project S-81 entitled "Development of Human Resource Potentials of Rural Youth in the South and their Patterns of Mobility." The general objective of the study was to investigate the attainment process of adolescents in the non-metropolitan Deep South. Six states participated in the study, which was designed as a longitudinal two-wave regional research effort. Of the six, however, only Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Texas participated at both the 1966- and 1968 waves. (For South Carolina, data were collected in 1967 and 1969; hereafter, for brevity, all references will be to 1966 and 1968.) Mississippi participated at Wave I only, and Louisiana took part at Wave II only. Although Alabama participated at both waves, the questionnaire administered in 1966 did not include the questions pertaining to degree of work aspirations and expectations. Therefore, the subset of the data base used in this study included only the white females from Georgia, South Carolina, and Texas.

The target population at Wave I (1966) was high school sophomores. In Georgia and Texas, a set of non-metropolitan schools was purposively selected, based upon the socioeconomic characteristics

of the counties in which the schools were located. The vast majority of the schools were from areas considered somewhat economically disadvantaged (Byrd, 1976). In South Carolina, a stratified random sample, based on size of school and racial predominance, was drawn from all high schools in the state (White, 1974).

Collection of Data[3]

At Wave I, the high school sophomores were administered group questionnaires, with no attempt made to contact those students who were absent on the day of the interview. Similarly worded questionnaires were administered to the panel at Wave II, when the majority of the youth were high school seniors. Panel attrition between Waves I and II was thought to be primarily attributable to high school dropouts, however, unlike the contact at Wave I, an attempt was made to locate 1966 respondents not at school the day of the 1968 interviews.

The number of white females participating at both waves, and included in the larger six-state panel, equaled 49 in South Carolina, 45 in Georgia, and 47 in Texas. Of these 141 respondent, three had to be excluded from the analysis because of methodological difficulties, thus the sample was reduced to 138 white females.

Operationalization of the Variables

The following discussion describes the way in which the nine variables comprising the recursive model were operationalized.

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[3]For more detailed information on regional data collection in the S-81 research project, see Byrd (1976) and White (1974).

For a more detailed review of the specific questionnaire items which were used to measure these variables, see Appendix A.

Social Origin Variables

Measures of social origin included in this study were father's education, mother's education, and main breadwinner's occupation. Operationally, these were defined as follows:

Father's education - Determined by the respondent's indication of the highest school grade completed by her father. Responses were one of the following nine options:

1. Did not go to school.
2. Grade 1-7.
3. Eighth grade.
4. Some high school but didn't graduate.
5. Graduated from high school.
6. Went to vocational school after graduating from high school.
7. Some college but didn't graduate.
8. College graduate (4 years).
9. Don't know.

None of the respondents answered "Don't know" to this question. Therefore, numerical values ranging from 1 to 8 were assigned to the responses.

Mother's education - Operationalized in a manner identical to father's education.

Main breadwinner's occupation - Determined by the response to the question--"What is the main job held by the major money earner of your home?" The specific occupations were coded according to the Duncan socioeconomic index (Duncan, 1961). Responses such as retired, housewife, etc. were treated as missing data since there is no Duncan score which could be assigned to them.

Status Projection Variables

The females' status projections obtained at Wave I (1966) were posited as processual (throughput) variables in the recursive model, and the status projections obtained at Wave II (1968) were posited as output variables. This repeated measurement of the variables enabled an analysis of attitude stability between waves. Although the model treated the same variable measured in two different waves as hypothetically different variables, the operationalization was the same. The specific status projection variables which were included in this study were level of educational aspiration, level of occupational aspiration, and level of degree of work. Operationally, these were defined as follows:

Educational aspirations - Determined by the response to the question--"If you could have as much education as you desired and were completely free to choose, which of the following would you do?"

1. Quit high school and never go to school again.
2. Quit high school and take some vocational training for a job.
3. Graduate from high school and never go to school again.
4. Graduate from high school and then complete a business, commercial, nurses training, or some other technical school program.
5. Graduate from a junior college.
6. Graduate from a college or university.
7. Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university.

The questionnaires used in the Georgia, Texas, and South Carolina studies in 1968 offered only six fixed-choice responses to the question pertaining to educational aspirations (see Appendix A). Therefore, the responses obtained in these three states in 1966, which are represented

a comparable six-point scale. This was accomplished by collapsing the first two categories, since they both indicate the respondent quitting high school before graduating. Numerical values, ranging from 1 to 6, were then assigned to each response.

Educational expectations - Determined by the response to the question--"What do you really expect to do about your education?"

The recoding procedure that was used for the educational aspiration responses was also used for educational expectations. Consequently, the numerical value assignments for the responses to this question also ranged from 1 to 6.

Level of educational aspirations - This composite variable was operationalized by computing the unweighted average of educational aspiration and educational expectation:

$$\text{LEA} = \frac{\text{educational aspiration} + \text{educational expectation}}{2}$$

Occupational aspirations - Determined by the response to the question--"If you were completely free to choose any job, what would you most like to do as a lifetime kind of work?"

The responses were coded according to the Duncan Socio-economic index (Duncan, 1961), with the exception of the response "housewife," which was not included among the occupations represented in the index. The S-81 researchers eventually added "housewife" to the scale, assigning it the arbitrary value of 97.[4] (The term arbitrary is used because it is virtually impossible to select a

[4]"Housewife" was coded 97 so that it was analytically distinguishable and because no other occupations were scored 97 in the Duncan index.

single value which would be representative of the position along the status hierarchy where "housewife" falls. Depending on the major money earner's occupation, the housewife's status varies considerably. The status of a garbage collector's wife, for example, and that of a lawyer's wife are certainly viewed as different.) Although the addition of "housewife" to the scale made it possible to identify those female respondents designating "housewife" as either an occupational aspiration or expectation (or both), it distorts the distribution because of the extremely high numerical value assigned to the response. In the absence of a more appropriate value, it was decided to treat this response as missing data. (This procedure is discussed later in this chapter.)

Occupational expectations - Determined by the response to the question--"What kind of job do you really expect to have most of your life?"

The responses were coded according to the Duncan Socioeconomic index (Duncan, 1961), again, with the exception of "housewife." This response was treated the same way as it was for occupational aspirations.

Level of occupational aspiration - This composite variable was operationalized by computing the unweighted average of occupational aspiration and occupational expectation.

$$\text{LOA} = \frac{\text{occupational aspiration} + \text{occupational expectation}}{2}$$

Degree of work aspirations - Determined by the response to the question--"What do you want to do about work outside the home after you are married?"

1. Not work outside the home at all.
2. Work part-time until I have a child.
3. Work full-time until I have a child.
4. Work part-time even after I have children.
5. Work full-time even after I have children.

Because of the way the fixed-choice responses were worded, there were a variety of responses that might not fit any category, and some responses that could feasibly fit more than one category. For example, some women may not anticipate having children after marriage, and some may choose to work full-time until the birth of the first child and then shift to a part-time job. This methodological difficulty, and the fact that this thesis did not specifically address the problem of children as potentially disruptive influences on the female's working career, led to the decision to recode the responses to this question into the following three categories:

1 = Not work outside the home.
2 = Work part-time outside the home.
3 = Work full-time outside the home.

Degree of work expectations - Determined by the response to the question--"What do you actually expect to do about work outside the home after you are married?"

The fixed-choice responses were the same as those for degree of work aspirations, and the responses were recoded in the same manner.

Level of degree of work - This composite variable was operationalized by computing the unweighted average of degree of work aspiration and degree of work expectation:

$$LDW = \frac{\text{degree of work aspiration} + \text{degree of work expectation}}{2}$$

Analytical Techniques

The technique of path analysis (Duncan, 1966; Land, 1969; Heise, 1969, 1970) has become increasingly popular among social scientists in the past decade. Basically, this technique provides a means to analyze temporally-specified variables related in a causal sequence. These relationships are usually represented diagrammatically as structural models, which have as their goal the definition of a set of equations corresponding to the causal processes actually occurring in the "real" world. Ideally, these equations permit predictions of how a change in one variable in the system affects other variables in the system (Heise, 1969).

> Defining a causal structure of this kind requires specifying the network of causal paths that exist between variables, and identifying the parameters of causation so that one knows how much each variable affects another.
>
> (Heise, 1969:41)

In general, the construction of causal models allows empirically observed correlations to be broken down into parts that are the result of different processes.

Perhaps the greatest merit of path analysis is that the technique enables the researcher to tie theoretical and empirical considerations together (Land, 1969). According to Heise, "...a structural model is an explicit and quantitative statement of theory" (1969:42). In other words, theoretical assumptions regarding causal processes are made explicit in the structural equacions formulated by the researcher.

Heise pointed out, however, that there are a number of assumptions which must be met before the technique of path analysis can be used meaningfully. He summarizes these assumptions as follows:

1. "In the system of interest, change in one variable always occurs as a linear function of changes in other variables" (Heise, 1969:44).

2. "The system of concern contains no reciprocal causations or feedback loops; that is, if x causes y, y cannot affect x either directly or through a chain of other variables" (Heise, 1969:45).

3. "The causal laws governing the system are established sufficiently to specify the causal priorities among variables in a way that is undebatable" (Heise, 1969:52).

4. "The disturbances of dependent variables are uncorrelated with each other or with the inputs; thus it is necessary that ALL

system inputs are entered explicitly into analyses" (Heise, 1969:56).

5. "The usual methodological assumptions involved in multivariate regression analyses are met." These include: independent sample units; interval or ratio scales of measurement; homoscedasticity (i.e., similar variance among cases of the system variables); and the sources of variation for each variable in the system are sufficiently diverse so that the correlations between variables are not extremely large in absolute magnitude (i.e., multicollinearity) (Heise, 1969:57).

6. "The measuring instruments used to obtain empirical data have high reliability" (Heise, 1969:59).

In 1970, Heise developed a model to be used with a two-wave, two-variable design, which allowed for both consistency (stability) and cross-lagged effects. The model tested in this thesis is an extension of the basic Heise model in that it includes a third variable at both waves.

Following Heise's approach, the model tested here treats the same variable measured in two different waves as hypothetically different variables. The result is the nine variable model depicted in Figure 2.

The time-ordering of the data allows some of the logically possible paths in this model to be discarded (Heise, 1970). Since

later states of a variable cannot determine earlier states, the following paths are eliminated:

X7 to X1, X2, X3, X4, X5, and X6

X8 to X1, X2, X3, X4, X5, and X6

X9 to X1, X2, X3, X4, X5, and X6

X4 to X1, X2, and X3

X5 to X1, X2, and X3

X6 to X1, X2, and X3

Additionally, it is assumed that effects do not occur instantaneously, but rather, after some finite period of time (Heise, 1970). Thus, the following paths are also eliminated from the analysis:

X4 to X5 and X4 to X6

X5 to X4 and X5 to X6

X6 to X4 and X6 to X5

X7 to X8 and X7 to X9

X8 to X7 and X8 to X9

X9 to X7 and X9 to X8

The paths from X4 to X7, X5 to X8, and X6 to X9 are interpreted as estimates of the stability of LEA, LOA, and LDW, respectively, between waves.

The paths from X4 to X8 and X9, from X5 to X7 and X9, and from X6 to X7 and X8 are interpreted as estimates of the cross-lagged effects between the variables (see: Pelz & Andrews, 1970).

In the recursive model diagrammed in Figure 2, one-way arrows lead from each determining (i.e., exogenous) variable to each variable dependent on it (i.e., endogenous variable). These arrows show paths of direct effects. Unanalyzed correlations between variables not dependent upon others in the system, such as the social origin variables in the present model, are shown by two-headed arrows, and the connecting line is curved, rather than straight (Duncan, 1966:3).

Residual variables, such as eu, ev, ew, ex, ey, and ez in Figure 2, are introduced into the system to represent the combination of all outside disturbances which contribute to the unexplained variance of the endogenous variables.

The structural equations which comprise the path model depicted in Figure 2 are:

(1) X4 = P41X1 + P42X2 + P43X3 + P4ueu

(2) X5 = P51X1 + P52X2 + P53X3 + P5vev

(3) X6 = P61X1 + P62X2 + P63X3 + P6wew

(4) X7 = P71X1 + P72X2 + P73X3 + P74X4 + P75X5 + P76X6 + P7xex

(5) X8 = P81X1 + P82X2 + P83X3 + P84X4 + P85X5 + P86X6 + P8yey

(6) X9 = P91X1 + P92X2 + P93X3 + P94X4 + P95X5 + P96X6 + P9zez

Path coefficients, which determine the amount of change in the endogenous variables for each standardized unit change in the exogenous variables, were obtained from these structural equations.

Treatment of Missing Data

The treatment of missing data is problematic because each of the possible methods may potentially bias the results of the study. Two methods for handling missing data in this thesis were considered: 1) the exclusion of all respondents with incomplete information from the analysis, and 2) the substitution of mean values for missing variables.

In order to identify where information was missing, a printout listing all respondents and all variables being considered in the analysis was made. Using this printout, it was found that the exclusion of all respondents lacking information would result in the reduction of the data set from 138 to 108 white females. This meant the loss of almost 25 percent of the original sample, and brought the total number of respondents extremely close to 100, which is often suggested as the minimum number necessary for this type of analysis. Additionally, many of the females were lacking data on only one of the nine variables being analyzed. Thus, excluding those individuals meant losing available information on the other eight variables pertinent to the study. In view of these disadvantages, it seemed advisable to consider the method of substituting mean values for missing variables as a possible alternative.

A second printout, excluding those 30 respondents with incomplete information, was made which included the calculation of mean values for each of the nine variables in the recursive model. Wherever

information was missing for a social origin variable (i.e., father's education, mother's education, and main breadwinner's occupation), the appropriate mean value was substituted.

The status projection variables, however, were handled in a slightly different manner. These level of aspiration measures (i.e., LEA, LOA, and LDW) were computed from the aspiration and expectation scores for each variable (see Appendix A). Therefore, it was decided that when only one of the two responses was missing for a particular variable, the score for the other response would be substituted, rather than the overall mean for that variable. For example, a respondent with an occupational aspiration score of 61, who failed to answer the question for occupational expectation, would be assigned a score of 61 for occupational expectation, also. This procedure was based on the assumption that the individual's aspiration is a better predictor of her expectation than the mean score for the variable computed from the expectations of the other members of the data set. Conversely, expectation scores were substituted for missing aspiration scores.

As was mentioned earlier, "housewife" responses for occupational aspirations and/or expectations were treated as missing data. Therefore, a female who aspired to being a secretary, but expected to be a housewife, was given the numerical value assigned to the response of "secretary" for her occupational expectation score. In cases where both aspirations and expectations were missing, the mean LOA score was substituted.

The major disadvantage of substituting mean values for missing data is that the variance for each variable is somewhat reduced. In this analysis, however, the number of cases for each variable which required substitution was so small that the reduction in variance was negligible. Table 1, which compares means and standard deviations before and after the substitutions were made, was included as support for this argument.

In conclusion, the advantage of retaining all 138 members of the data set was thought to outweigh the disadvantage of a marginal reduction in variance, thus the method of substituting means for missing data was utilized.

Table 1. Means and Standard Deviations With and Without Missing Data

	Without Missing Data (N=108)		With Missing Data (N=138)	
	Mean	Stan. Dev.	Mean	Stan. Dev.
Variables[a]				
A	4.491	1.821	4.491	1.772
B	4.898	1.552	4.887	1.500
C	36.880	22.932	37.957	22.882
D	3.745	1.280	3.627	1.288
E	55.444	19.469	55.354	18.865
F	2.319	0.617	2.300	0.589
G	3.917	1.199	3.801	1.188
H	56.033	17.655	54.725	17.895
I	2.419	0.651	2.414	0.637

[a]The variables are: A=father's education, B=mother's education, C=main breadwinner's occupation, D=level of educational aspiration in 1966, E=level of occupational aspiration in 1966, F=level of degree of work in 1966, G=level of educational aspiration in 1968, H=level of occupational aspiration in 1968, I=level of degree of work in 1968.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Data Analysis

The statistical analysis of the data, which is presented in the first section of this chapter, provides the basis for evaluating the recursive model's efficacy regarding the theoretical propositions presented in Chapter III. Each of the specific propositions is discussed separately, after which the analyses of mediation effects and attitude stability are presented. Although the actual analysis is concerned with process (i.e., how social origin variables affect status projections and how these, in turn, influence subsequent status projections), and not mean "levels," a short discussion of the mean values obtained for the nine variables is presented first to provide a more complete description and understanding of the population under consideration.

The mean values (see Table 1) for both father's education (4.491) and mother's education (4.887) indicated that, on the average, the parents of the girls in this sample had some high school education, but stopped somewhere short of high school graduation. The very similar mean scores for father's and mother's education was not unexpected; researchers have frequently found a great deal of similarity between the educational level of husbands and wives (Berscheid & Walster, 1969). Although the mean value for mother's

education was slightly higher than that for father's education, the difference was too small to warrant much attention. It might have been that males were more likely to quit school to go to work than were females, especially in rural areas where unskilled or semi-skilled jobs were usually available and did not require the completion of a high school education.

The mean score for main breadwinner's occupation (37.957) corresponded to occupations such as foreman, physician's and dentist's office attendants, and mine operatives and laborers on the Duncan (1961) Socioeconomic Index (SEI). This seems appropriate, considering the mean educational level of fathers and mothers for this panel of Southern females. As a measure of the family's socioeconomic status, this occupation lies well below the mean on Duncan's scale of prestige rankings, thus indicating a relatively low level of social status for the family of origin.

The mean values for levels of educational aspiration obtained in 1966 and 1968 were very similar, although the value in 1968 (3.801) was slightly higher than that in 1966 (3.627). Both scores indicated, however, that on the average, the girls in this sample planned to go beyond a high school education. [It should be remembered that the level of educational aspiration score is a composite score, computed as the unweighted average of the female's educational aspiration and expectation. Therefore, the term "planned" was used to avoid categorizing the value as either a desired goal (aspiration) or expected occurrance (expectation).]

In terms of occupational projections, the means for levels of occupational aspiration were again very similar. Contrary to education, however, the mean value for level of occupational aspiration in 1968 (54.725) was slightly lower than the value for 1966 (55.354), but both values approximated the score of 55, which is that of a skilled operative on the Duncan SEI. What is much more significant that the mean scores for these variables, however, was indicated by the frequency distributions for occupational aspirations and occupational expectations. At both waves (1966 and 1968) of the study, out of 97 possible prestige rankings, roughly 60 percent (n=138) of the females in this panel chose one of four occupations (beautician, nurse, stenographer, and school teacher) as an occupational aspiration and/or expectation. This well illustrates how traditional these women were when it came to planning their future occupational roles. In terms of a sex-typed dimension to the occupational hierarchy, it would appear that these females would be most apt to perpetuate the sexual imbalance by filtering into those occupations already dominated by women. In view of the mean values for levels of educational aspiration, however, these occupational projections were quite appropriate, with the exception of school teacher. A high school education with some post-high school training would be sufficient for securing a job as a stenographer, beautician, or nurse. This may indicate that the females were more interested in choosing an occupation commensurate

with their projected educational level, than they were in selecting a traditionally female-oriented career for themselves; the compatibility between the two is apparent. The fact remains, however, that there are many other occupations on the Duncan SEI which could have been chosen but apparently the majority of these girls were not interested in them.

The mean values for the level of degree of work variable again showed little variation between 1966 and 1968. Both the 1966 value (2.300) and the 1968 value (2.414) indicated that the females in this panel, on the average, did anticipate working outside the home after marriage (recall that 2=work part-time). The fact that the average score for this variable rose slightly in 1968 may mean that as the girls approached the completion of a high school education, they began to anticipate more time spent in the labor force.

In summary, the mean scores for the nine variables indicated that the three status projections remained at approximately the same level at both waves of the study. On the average, the females planned to get additional vocational training after high school graduation, and they anticipated a career (most likely in a traditionally feminine occupation) commensurate with their projected levels of educational attainment. The means for the social origin variables indicated a fairly low socioeconomic level, with the average parental education level less than high school graduation,

and the main breadwinner's occupation falling well below the mean on the Duncan Socioeconomic Index (Duncan, 1961).

Before the actual analysis of the theoretical propositions, the correlations between the social origin variables and between the status projection variables at both waves should be discussed. The recursive model posits that father's education, mother's education, and main breadwinner's occupation occur independently at the same point in time. Examination of Table 2 reveals that the zero-order correlations between these three variables were all statistically significant.[5] In particular, the correlation between father's education and mother's education ($r_{FED,MED}$ = .602, p=.001) was quite high. The correlation between father's education and main breadwinner's occupation ($r_{MBO,FED}$ = .395, p=.001) was also fairly large, which was to be expected. The positive correlation simply suggests that the higher the educational level of the father, the higher the occupational level of the main breadwinner. The correlation between mother's education and main breadwinner's occupation ($r_{MBO,MED}$ = .328, p=.001) was indicative of a positive relationship between these two variables and was also statistically significant.

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[5]Statistical significance was determined by testing the null hypothesis for the unstandardized regression coefficient. Statistical significant means that the probability of accepting the null hypothesis was less than or equal to .05.

le 2. Zero-Order Correlations, Means and Standard Deviations of Variables in a Recursive Model of Status Projections: (N=138)

ables[a]	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
	-								
	.602***	-							
	.395***	.328***	-						
	.403***	.398***	.152	-					
	.208*	.290***	.198*	.335***	-				
	.085	.049	-.034	.093	.033	-			
	.442***	.451***	.259**	.699***	.346***	.095	-		
	.225**	.308***	.054	.424***	.529***	.108	.450***	-	
	.171*	.189*	.018	.121	.238**	.117	.113	.194*	-
	4.491	4.887	37.957	3.627	55.354	2.300	3.801	54.725	2.414
dard ation	1.772	1.499	22.882	1.287	18.865	0.589	1.188	17.895	0.637

variables are: A=father's education, B=mother's education, C=main breadwinner's occupation, evel of educational aspiration in 1966, E=level of occupational aspiration in 1966, F=level of ree of work in 1966, G=level of educational aspiration in 1968, H=level of occupational aspiran in 1968, I=level of degree of work in 1968. ***$p \leq .001$; **$.001 < p \leq .01$; *$.01 < p \leq .05$.

There was only one statistically significant correlation between the status projection variables at Wave I [i.e., that between level of educational aspirations and level of occupational aspiration ($r_{LOA,LEA}$ = .335, p=.001)]. This was also expected due to the well-established relationship between educational and occupational variables noted in the literature (Sewell, et al., 1969, 1970; Alexander & Eckland, 1974). The correlations between level of educational aspiration and level of degree of work ($r_{LDW,LEA}$ = .093) and between level of occupational aspiration and level of degree of work ($r_{LDW,LOA}$ = .033) were not statistically significant. This may simply illustrate the failure of the model to adequately explain the degree of work variable. A positive correlation between this variable and the other two status projections, especially level of occupational aspiration, was expected, but the correlation coefficients were much smaller than anticipated.

Similar correlations were observed between the status projection variables at Wave II. Again, the correlation between level of educational aspiration and level of occupational aspiration ($r_{LOA,LEA}$ = .450, p=.001) was the highest, although the correlation between level of occupational aspiration and level of degree of work ($r_{LDW,LOA}$ = .194, p=.05) was also statistically significant.

The relationships between these three variables were all positive, as they were in 1966, but the relative magnitude of the correlations were greater, in each case, than the respective measures at Wave I. The major change noted was the much stronger correlation between level of occupational aspiration and level of degree of work. Apparently, by the time the girls in the sample were seniors in high school (1968), their plans about working outside the home after marriage were more closely tied to their occupational projections (i.e., the specific occupation they believed or hoped they would attain). Again, this will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

The remainder of the discussion devoted to data analysis focuses on the theoretical proposition tested via the recursive model.

Social Origin and Level of Educational Aspiration at Wave I

The first proposition stated that the social origin variables would be directly related to and affect the level of educational aspiration. The zero-order correlation coefficients presented in Table 2 indicated that the three relationships were positive, which suggests that as each type of social origin increases, level of educational aspiration increases. Of the three relationships, both father's education and mother's education were statistically significant, with father's education being just slightly more influential.

The results of the regression analysis, presented in Table 3, indicated that the social origin variables, taken together, accounted for approximately 20 percent of the variation in level of educational aspiration. Father's education produced the largest effect ($p = .268$),[6] with mother's education exerting almost as much influence ($p = .248$). These two social origin variables were again statistically significant. Somewhat surprisingly, main breadwinner's occupation showed a very slight negative influence ($p = -.035$) on level of educational aspiration. This may be interpretted as virtually no effect, since the coefficient was extremely small.

In sum, the first proposition was largely supported by the data, based on the findings that father's education and mother's education exerted statistically significant influences on level of educational aspiration, and all three social origin variables were positively correlated with the dependent variable. Main breadwinner's occupation, however, did not prove to be an adequate predictor of level of educational aspiration (LEA), which is contradictory to much of the previous research in this area.

Social Origin and Level of Occupational Aspiration at Wave II

Proposition Two stated that social origin variables would be directly related to and affect the level of occupational aspiration.

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[6]From this point on in the analysis the symbol "p," when free-standing, will be used to designate a path coefficient; when used in conjunction with "r" it will designate a probability.

le 3. Standard Regression Coefficients, Coefficients of Determination, and Residuals for a Recursive Model of Status Projections: (N=138)

determined iables[a]	Dependent Variables[a]					
	D	E	F	G	H	I
A	.268**	.018	.112	.088	.004	.105
B	.248*	.243*	.008	.117	.116	.100
C	-.035	.111	-.080	.083	-.105	-.091
D				.574***	.242**	.027
E				.084	.432***	.210*
F				.028	.062	.096
R^2	.2012	.0960	.0126	.5462	.3686	.0932
idual	.894	.951	.994	.674	.795	.952

e variables are: A=father's education, B=mother's education, C=main breadwinner's occupation, level of educational aspiration in 1966, E=level of occupational aspiration in 1966, F=level degree of work in 1966, G=level of educational aspiration in 1968, H=level of occupational piration in 1968, I=level of degree of work in 1968. ***$p \leq .001$; **$.001 < p \leq .01$; 01 $< p \leq .05$.

All three relationships were found to be positive (see Table 2), and the association was statistically significant in each case. The zero-order correlation between mother's education and level of occupational aspiration was the largest ($r_{LOA,MED}$ = .290, p=.001), followed by father's education ($r_{LOA,FED}$ = .208, p=.05), and main breadwinner's occupation ($r_{LOA,MBO}$ = .198, p=.05).

Turning to the regression analysis, only about 10 percent of the variation in level of occupational aspiration (LOA) was accounted for by the social origin variables. The best predictor of the dependent variable was mother's education (p=.243), which was the only statistically significant influence on LOA. Unexpectedly, father's education had almost no effect on level of occupational aspiration (p = .018) and the influence of main breadwinner's occupation (p = .111) was also less than what was anticipated in light of prior research. As was true for Proposition One, the data tended to support the second proposition, although the relationships were weaker than expected.

Social Origin and Level of Degree of Work at Wave I

The third proposition stated that social origin variables would be directly related to and affect one's level of degree of work (LDW). The zero-order correlations were so small that no relationship could be said to exist between these particular social origin variables and LDW. The results of the regression analysis were equally inconclusive. None of the three predetermined

variables exerted a statistically significant influence on the dependent variable. Father's education had the most effect (p = .112), and main breadwinner's occupation was shown to exert a slight negative influence (p = -.080). Together, the three social origin variables accounted for less than 2 percent of the variance in level of degree of work. This led to the rejection of Proposition Three, and the conclusion that the new concept cannot be easily predicted by any of the three social origin variables used in this analysis.

Social Origin, Status Projections, and Level of Educational Aspiration at Wave II

Proposition Four stated that social origin variables and status projections at Wave I would be directly related to and affect level of educational aspiration at Wave II. All six possible relationships were shown to be positive (see Table 2), which indicated that a unidirectional pattern exists (i.e., the higher the social origin and earlier status projections, the higher the level of educational aspiration). With the exception of level of degree of work, all the relationships were statistically significant, with level of educational aspiration at Wave I having the strongest association ($r_{LEA68,LEA66}$ = .699, p=.001), followed by mother's education ($r_{LEA68,MED}$ = .451, p=.001), and father's education ($r_{LEA68,FED}$ = .442, p=.001).

The results of the regression analysis indicated that approximately 55 percent of the variation in LEA was accounted for by the social origin and earlier status projection variables. The only statistically significant influence, however, was that of level of educational aspiration obtained at Wave I ($p = .574$). Of the remaining variables, mother's education exerted the strongest influence ($p = .117$), with the other four variables showing only slight effects on LEA. In conclusion, Proposition Four was supported by the data, although the majority of the predetermined and intervening variables were less successful predictors of level of educational aspiration than anticipated.

Social Origin, Status Projections, and Level of Occupational Aspiration at Wave II

The fifth proposition stated that social origin variables and earlier status projections would be directly related to and affect level of occupational aspiration at Wave II. The six zero-order correlations were all positive, as was hypothesized, with father's education ($r_{LOA68,FED} = .225$, $p=.01$), mother's education ($r_{LOA68,MED} = .308$, $p=.001$), LEA ($r_{LOA68,LEA66} = .424$, $p=.001$), and LOA ($r_{LOA68,LOA66} = .529$, $p=.001$) all being significantly associated with the dependent variable. The strongest correlation was found between the two measures of level of occupational aspiration (i.e., that obtained in 1966, and the measure obtained in 1968). This finding was expected since it represents a measure

of attitude stability. (Further discussion of this topic is presented later in the chapter.)

Examination of the regression coefficients showed that the paths from LEA (p = .242) and from LOA (p = .432) were both statistically significant. Mother's education was fairly influential (p = .116), but the remaining variables exerted almost no effect on LOA. Taken together, the six variables accounted for roughly 37 percent of the variance in the dependent variable. In general, support was obtained for Proposition Five, although father's education, main breadwinner's occupation, and level of degree of work were found to have little predictive power for LOA.

Social Origin, Status Projections, and Level of Degree of Work at Wave II

The sixth and final proposition stated that social origin variables and earlier status projections would be directly related to and affect level of degree of work at Wave II. The zero-order correlation coefficients were all positive, which supported the direction of influence indicated in the proposition. Of the six relationships, three variables were found to be significantly associated with LDW: father's education ($r_{LDW68,FED}$ = .171, p=.05), mother's education ($r_{LDW68,MED}$ = .189, p=.05), and LOA ($r_{LDW68,LOA66}$ = .238, p=.01).

The regression analysis identified only one statistically significant path--that from LOA to LDW (p = .210). As was the

case when this variable was measured at Wave I, the majority of the variables proved to be poor predictors, with only 9 percent of the total variation in LDW being accounted for, as shown in Table 3. Main breadwinner's occupation was found to have a slight negative influence on LDW ($p = -.091$), which offered some support for an inverse relationship, albeit one of little magnitude. Based primarily on the small regression coefficients obtained for the majority of the variables, Proposition Six was rejected. The social origin and earlier status projection variables did not show evidence of being causally related to the dependent variable, thus the recursive model was ineffective at predicting level of degree of work.

Mediation of Social Origin Effects by Intervening Status Projections

Much of the past research on status attainment (Sewell, et al., 1969; Sewell, et al., 1970; Blau & Duncan, 1967) found that the effects of social origin variables on the system outputs were mediated by intervening attitudinal variables. It was expected, therefore, that in the present model, the effects of the social origin variables on the status projections in 1968 would be mediated by the status projection variables obtained in 1966. The data did not provide overwhelming support for this contention, however. Following the lead of Alwin and Hauser (1975) for decomposing a model, it is possible to discuss direct, indirect, and total effects

of both aggregate and independent variables. As shown in Table 4, of the nine possible instances where mediation should have occurred, only four showed evidence of mediation effects. Approximately 64 percent of the total effect of father's education on level of educational aspiration in 1968 was indirect via the intervening status projections. Closer examination indicated that level of educational aspiration in 1966 was by far the most important mediating influence. Similarly, mother's education was also mediated largely by LEA in 1966, although 42 percent of the influence of mother's education on LEA was direct, compared with 36 percent for father's education.

The other two instances were mediation effects occurred also involved father's and mother's education. The percentages for the direct and indirect effects of mother's education on level of occupational aspiration were almost exactly the same as those for level of educational aspiration. In the case of LOA, however, the primary mediating influence was level of occupational aspiration in 1966, followed by level of educational aspiration. The effect of father's education on LOA was also primarily indirect. Contrary to mother's education, however, most of the influence of father's education was indirect via level of educational aspiration in 1966. The direct effect and the indirect effect via level of occupational aspiration were negligible.

Table 4. Interpretations of Effects in a Recursive Model of Status Projections: (N=138)

Dependent Variable[a]	Predetermined Variable[a]	Total Effect	Indirect Effects Via XD[a]	Indirect Effects Via XE[a]	Indirect Effects Via XF[a]	Direct Effect	% Due to Direct	% Due to Indirect
XG	XA	.2470	.154	.002	.003	.088	36.6%	64.4%
	XB	.2790	.142	.020	.000	.117	41.9%	58.1%
	XC	.1140	(-)[b].020	.009	(-)[b].002	.083	72.8%	27.2%
XH	XA	.084	.065	.008	.007	.004	4.8%	95.2%
	XB	.281	.060	.105	.000	.116	41.3%	58.7%
	XC	.166	(-)[b].008	.048	(-)[b].005	(-)[b].105	63.2%	36.8%
XI	XA	.127	(-)[b].007	.004	.011	.105	82.7%	17.3%
	XB	.158	(-)[b].007	.051	.000	.100	63.3%	36.7%
	XC	.123	.001	.023	(-)[b].008	(-)[b].091	74.0%	26.0%

[a]The variables are: A=father's education, B=mother's education, C=main breadwinner's occupation, D=LEA in 1966, E=LOA in 1966, F=LDW in 1966, G=LEA in 1968, H=LOA in 1968, I=LDW in 1968.

[b]Absolute values were used to compute direct and indirect effects, since the magnitude of influence, independent of its direction, was of primary interest in this analysis.

The remaining five cases did not support the argument for mediation effects. In each instance, the direct effect of the social origin variable constituted a larger proportion of the total effect than did the indirect effects via the intervening variables. The three cases involving the dependent variable, level of degree of work, were difficult to interpret, due to the extremely small influences reported in the table. It should be remembered that Propositions Three and Six, which also involved level of degree of work as the dependent variable, were rejected. Here again, the model failed to adequately explain the influences affecting this variable.

Somewhat unexpectedly, the influence of main breadwinner's occupation on LEA and LOA was apparently not mediated by the intervening status projections. The effect on level of occupational aspiration in 1968 did appear to be mediated to some extent by LOA in 1966, but the direct effect of main breadwinner's occupation remained larger than the indirect effects. Again, most of the values reported were extremely small, which made interpretation difficult. To summarize, some support for the argument for mediation effects was obtained, particularly regarding the effects of mother's education and father's education on levels of educational and occupational aspiration. Contrary to expectations, the influence of main breadwinner's occupation was not found to be mediated by intervening status projections. Also, the effects of the social origin

variables on level of degree of work were not mediated by the status projection variables.

Stability of Status Projections

As was discussed previously, level of educational aspiration, level of occupational aspiration, and level of degree of work were all measured at two points in time. This repeated measurement enabled the analysis of attitude stability between 1966 and 1968. The respective path coefficients between these variables were used to assess the stability of the status projections. Perfect stability (i.e., no change in the variable between Waves I and II) would be represented by a regression coefficient of 1.00. The lower the magnitude of the coefficient, the less stable the projection, etc.

Of the three status projection variables, level of educational aspiration appeared to exhibit the greatest relative amount of attitude stability. The regression coefficient of .574 between measures of LEA still indicated, however, that this variable changed somewhat between waves, and thus knowledge of this status projection in 1966 would not ensure successful prediction of the variable in 1968. The regression coefficient between the level of occupational aspiration variables was .432, which again indicated some attitude instability between 1966 and 1968. While there appeared to be some cause-and-effect relationship between the levels of aspiration for education and occupation, the level of degree of work variable

showed virtually no such relationship. The path coefficient of .096 indicated extreme attitude instability which also suggested that the earlier state of this variable would be of little use for predicting a later state of the variable. In conclusion, two of the three status projections were found to be relatively stable over the two year period between waves, (i.e., early measures of level of educational aspiration and level of occupational aspiration exhibited moderate predictive power for later states of themselves). These findings lend partial support to the research discussed in Chapter III regarding the stability of attitudes over time (Kirklin, 1974; Jacob, 1973; White, 1974). (Further discussion and interpretation are presented later in this chapter.)

To summarize the results presented in this chapter, support was obtained for Propositions One, Two, Four, and Five. Level of educational aspiration in 1966 and level of occupational aspiration in 1966 were found to be positively related to the three measures of social origin. The recursive model explained 20 percent of the variation in LEA and 10 percent of the variation in LOA, with three of the six paths being statistically significant. The acceptance of Propositions Four and Five indicated that levels of educational and occupational aspiration in 1968 were positively related to the social origin variables and the status projection variables obtained in 1966. The predictive power of the model greatly increased, with 55 percent of the variation in LEA and

37 percent of the variation in LOA accounted for by the six predetermined variables. Propositions Three and Six, which posited the conceptually new variable, level of degree of work, as the dependent variable, were rejected. The model failed to adequately predict this variable, which was indicated by the extremely small path coefficients and zero-order correlation coefficients. Also, the magnitude of the coefficients in Table 5 (Correlated Residual Effects) indicated that no spurious correlation appeared to be affecting the system depicted in the recursive model.

The argument for mediation effects was supported in the cases involving the effects of mother's education and father's education on LEA and LOA. The influence of main breadwinner's occupation on these two variables was not mediated, however, which was somewhat unexpected.

Finally, two of the status projection variables (specifically, LEA and LOA) were found to be quite stable over time. The magnitudes of the path coefficients from the 1966 measure of each of these variables to the respective 1968 measure were used to assess this stability. The path coefficients for level of educational aspiration ($p = .699$), and level of occupation aspiration ($p = .529$) were noteably higher than expected, and indicated a great deal of attitude stability between waves. In other words, the measures of educational and occupational projections obtained in 1966 were extremely good predictors of those same variables measured two years later.

able 5. Correlated Residual Effects for a Recursive Model of Status Projections: (N=138)

ariables[a]	D	E	F	G	H	I
D	-					
E	.252**	-				
F	.064	.025	-			
G	.000	.000	.000	-		
H	.000	.000	.000	.184*	-	
I	.000	.000	.000	-.028	.045	-

The variables are: D=level of educational aspiration in 1966, E=level of occupational aspiration in 1966, F=level of degree of work in 1966, G=level of educational aspiration in 1968, H=level of occupational aspiration in 1968, I=level of degree of work in 1968.
***$p \leq .001$; **$.001 < p \leq .01$; *$.01 < p \leq .05$.

Interpretation of the Data

The empirical findings were reported in the first section of this chapter, but the task of interpreting these findings in terms of their theoretical significance still remains. Thus, the last section of this chapter is devoted to explaining and interpretting the results of the statistical analyses.

Much of the status attainment literature posits a direct effect between social origin variables and educational and occupational plans (Sewell & Shah, 1968; Alexander & Eckland, 1974; Sewell, et al., 1969, 1970). Moreover, this relationship has been found to be even greater for females than for males (Sewell & Shah, 1968; Alexander & Eckland, 1974; Bayer, 1969a; Tully, et al., 1975). The data in this thesis tended to support these findings for females, with some minor variations.

The educational attainment of both parents appeared to greatly influence the educational aspirations and expectations of their daughters. Not suprisingly, the higher the level of parental education, the higher the educational plans of the female offspring. It seems reasonable to expect that the "educational climate" in the household would be more conducive to the formation of plans to pursue higher levels of education if one or both parents had themselves gone beyond a high school education. For the females in this panel, the influence of mother's education was approximately equal to that of father's education. This may indicate a certain amount

of role-modeling on the part of the daughters, in that those with mothers who attained relatively higher levels of education would themselves aspire or expect to pursue additional education after completion of high school. At the very least, this finding supports the notion of the importance of the mother's influence as a significant other for her daughter.

Unexpectedly, the third social origin variable, main breadwinner's occupation, was found to have virtually no effect on the girl's educational plans. It is usually assumed that families with higher socioeconomic status (SES) would be much more apt to have the financial resources which are necessary for making higher education for the children possible, thus, a positive relationship would exist between these two variables. It must be remembered, however, that the educational variable in this model measured only the unweighted average of the aspirations and expectations (i.e., the educational plans) of the girl, and not actual attainment, therefore, it is not known what her eventual attainment will be. It does appear, however, that a girl from a family of lower SES was equally likely to plan for higher educational attainments as a girl from a family of relatively higher SES. This seems fairly reasonable, especially in view of the fact that all the girls in this panel lived in rural, and somewhat economically disadvantaged areas, which would probably mean a great deal of similarity in the educational opportunity structure the girls would encounter in addition to the similarity of economic backgrounds.

Main breadwinner's occupation did have a more significant effect on the occupational plans of the female, however. The fact that both variables in this relationship pertain to occupations may help to explain a stronger association between them. In terms of parental education, mother's education was substantially more influential than father's education on the daughter's occupational plans. This appears to be another example of the importance of the mother as a role model or definer (Haller & Woelfel, 1972; Sell, 1974). The positive association between the two variables might be the result of mothers with greater education providing more encouragement to their daughters to seek higher status occupations, since they would have been more likely to have worked outside the home themselves.

Regardless of the educational level of the mother, however, the girls exhibited extremely traditional orientations, as mentioned earlier in the chapter. Both their aspirations and expectations focused on traditionally female-dominated careers (i.e., nurse, stenographer, school teacher, and beautician.) Role-modeling might still be partially responsible, since mothers who worked outside the home might have actually worked in one of these occupations, or another female-oriented occupation. Although this is strictly hypothetical since data were not collected on mother's occupation, it seems logical to assume that the majority of the mothers, if they worked outside the home at all, would have worked

in this category, considering their mean educational level (i.e., slightly less than high school graduate) and the fact that when most of these women were finishing their education, the woman's movement and the encouragement to enter previously male-dominated occupations was not yet strong. Particularly in rural areas, the occupational opportunity structure would have been even more limited than in larger, urban areas. In any case, the girls in this sample apparently valued the more traditional occupations in the labor market.

Although it was necessary for methodological reasons to recode the responses of "housewife" for either occupational aspirations or expectations, it should be pointed out that while only a total of eight girls aspired to being a housewife (five girls in 1966 and three girls in 1968), 36 girls stated in 1966 that they expected to be housewives, and 41 gave "housewife" as an occupational expectation in 1968. This serves to strengthen the idea that these girls were extremely traditional, at least in terms of their occupational expectations.

Interestingly, the positive relationship which was noted between main breadwinner's occupation and level of occupational aspiration in 1966 changed to a negative effect in 1968. While the influence was not overly strong, it was enough to merit some discussion. One possible interpretation would be that females from relatively lower SES families would feel an even greater need to

pursue careers in the labor force, due to economic pressures. Similarly, girls who come from families of higher SES may not feel that attaining a higher status occupation is a necessity. These girls may seek occupationas for reasons other than economic gain (i.e., non-income attributes, such as enjoyment or interest). It should also be remembered that the data were collected when the majority of the girls in this panel were high school students. In all probability, few, if any, of them would have had direct confrontation with the labor market. Therefore, the occupational aspirations and expectations of these girls may not have reflected an increased realism of schoice, as described by Ginzberg (1951). It could also be reasoned that family SES would have little bearing on these occupational projections if the aspirations and expectations were not altogether realistic. Although family SES has been found in the past to be related to eventual occupational attainments, this panel of girls may have simply been projecting their goals, without taking their family's SES into consideration. This could account for the negative relationship between family SES and occupational plans.

The final variable which remains to be discussed is level of degree of work. As originally conceptualized, this variable was intended to measure the amount of time the female anticipated spending in the labor force after marriage. The recursive model failed to explain this variable, which led to the rejection of

both theoretical propositions pertaining to level of degree of work. Therefore, rather than an interpretation of the insignificant statistical findings, a discussion of possible reasons for the model's failure to explain this variable is presented.

The results obtained in this analysis indicated that the social origin variables (i.e., father's education, mother's education, and main breadwinner's occupation) were not significantly related to degree of work plans. Perhaps the reason for this is the inability to assess the female's motivation behind her anticipation of time spent in the labor force. In other words, why would some females desire to work full-time outside the home after marriage, and others desire not to work outside the home? If an attempt is make to relate this variable to main breadwinner's occupation as an example, the difficulty in interpretation becomes more obvious.

Some girls from families of high SES might choose to work full-time outside the home because they want to continue to enjoy the economic benefits which their income would help attain. Other girls from high SES families, however, may never have felt the need to work (and may have observed their own mother in a position where work was not a necessity), therefore, they would not desire or expect to work in the labor force after marriage. Similarly, females from families of low SES may have been brought up with the idea that work was not an option but an absolute necessity, therefore, they would be apt to indicate full-time careers as their degree of work

projection. Others with low SES families may look to marriage as a means for escaping full-time careers, thus they would project lower levels of degree of work. The possibilities for individual variations in reasoning are limitless, thus interpretation is difficult.

One obvious determining factor for most girls after marriage is the occupational status of their husbands (Tyree & Treas, 1974; Turner, 1964; Herr, 1970). This variable was not included in the present analysis, but it would undoubtedly have a major influence on the female's plans to work outside the home. Since most of the girls in the panel were unmarried at the time the data were collected, this variable could have been operationalized as the desired or expected occupational status of the spouse.[7] In addition, such factors as the husband's attitude toward his wife's working, the influence of children present in the home, and the female's own value orientations (i.e., marriage and family versus career-oriented) would also have great bearing on her pursuit of a career.

In terms of other status projections which might influence the degree of work variable, certainly marital and fertility plans would exert strong influences. For example, the earlier the female plans to have children, the less likely she would be to anticipate a

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[7]This was, in fact, the way White (1974) handled the idea of intergenerational occupational mobility for females in the Southern Youth Study. (See Chapter III in this thesis.)

full-time career, assuming she felt responsible for childrearing activities. Similarly, the number and spacing of children would also affect her career plans. The projected age of marriage would probably be positively related to degree of work, also. If a girl anticipated staying single until her late 20's, she would probably anticipate devoting many years to a full-time career before marriage, which might, in turn, serve as encouragement for her to continue that career after marriage. Again, many possible individual variations exist, but the addition of marital and fertility plans to the model should considerably improve the model's explanatory power for this variable.

The argument for mediation effects (Sewell, et al., 1969, 1970; Bayer, 1969b) was largely supported by this data, at least with regard to the effect of parental education on the females' educational and occupational projections. In essense, the findings showed that the direct effects of fathers' and mothers' education on the girls' levels of educational and occupational aspiration in 1968 were mediated by earlier states of these same status projections. In other words, social origins were influential only insofar as they affected status projections earlier in the female's socialization. Although the model tested in this thesis did not extend to eventual educational and occupational attainments, it seems reasonable to assume that most, if not all, of the effect of social origins on subsequent attainment would be indirect via the formation of status projections.

In short, there would be little, if any, direct transferral of origin SES to female offspring. Therefore, low parental SES would not necessarily prohibit high educational or occupational attainments for the child, although it may well be viewed as a deterrant. The point is simply that one's attained status may be largely the result of individual effort, with only indirect support from parents and structural considerations.

One very obvious ommission in the present model is that of significant other influence. This variable has been found to be of great importance for later attainment by serving as a mediator of the effect of social origin as well as directly affecting later attainment (Alexander & Eckland, 1974; Sewell, 1971; Picou & Curry, 1973; Smith, 1976). In all probability, the types of significant other influence the child receives would greatly affect the levels of aspiration she holds for herself. Regardless, it appears that high aspirations supported by significant other influence will approximate the conditions which are necessary, although not sufficient, for her to eventually attain high levels of educational or occupational status.

The final discussion involves the stability of status projections noted in the data analysis. As mentioned in Chapter III, the ages of the girls in this panel roughly approximated the tentative and realistic stages of development outlined by Ginzberg (1951). Therefore, the hypothesis of increasing realism of choice would be expected

to apply to these girls. This hypothesis states that the individual's aspirations and expectations will become more realistic over time (i.e., the projections would reflect goals which have an increasingly greater probability of being attained). The findings, however, did not support this idea. First of all, a relatively high degree of stability was found to exist between respective levels of educational aspiration and levels of occupational aspiration between 1966 and 1968. This means that the female's educational projections in 1966, for example, provided a good measure for predicting her educational projections in 1968. Apparently, the situational and motivational factors which the girls encountered between their sophomore and senior years in high school did not prompt any great changes in their initial educational or occupational projections.

It was anticipated that the educational and occupational projections of these girls would vary significantly between 1966 and 1968 because as the females approached graduation from high school, the reality of the labor force would become a more important consideration for them. Also, the various significant others in the school system (i.e., teachers, guidance counselors, and school peers) would have been expected to encourage more realistic projections from the girls during this two-year interval. This discussion, however, should not be misinterpretted as indicating that the status projections of these girls were static. Variations did occur, but the mean values indicated that the aggregate changes were quite small.

The mean occupational aspiration score for 1966, for example, was 56.608, which dropped less than one point to 56.138 in 1968. The mean occupational expectation score for 1966 was 54.101. It, too, dropped very slightly to 53.512 in 1968. In terms of levels of occupational aspiration, the mean value in 1966 was 55.354, which dropped to 54.725 in 1968. While the shifts were all downward, which might be interpretted as evidence of increasingly realistic choices in Ginzberg's theory, the changes were so marginal that it would seem, at least on the aggregate, that the general level of aspiration was maintained. How "realistic" this was remains to be determined by later analyses which include eventual occupational attainment.

In conclusion, support was obtained for a direct relationship between measures of parental education and females' educational and occupational status projections, although some mediation did occur, as anticipated. It appears that parents with higher levels of education help foster a climate within the home that promotes higher levels of status projections among female offspring. These status projections, which exhibited a great deal of stability over time, were relatively effective mediators of the effects of social origin variables, also.

The mean scores for levels of educational and occupational aspiration showed very little aggregate change between Waves I and II. In addition, because the present analysis did not include

measures of eventual educational and occupational attainments, the realism of the status projections was impossible to assess. Therefore, it appears that Ginzberg's (1951) hypothesis of increasing realsim of choice was not altogether appropriate for this panel of women. This conclusion also supports previous findings of attitude stability among females in the Southern Youth Study (Kirklin, 1974; White, 1974).

The level of degree of work variable, which was not explained by the recursive model, was found to be extremely difficult to interpret. It was suggested that the inclusion in the model of such variables as marital and fertility plans, and the desired or expected level of occupational status for the spouse would improve the model's predictability for the degree of work variable.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS, AND LIMITATIONS

Summary

The purpose of this study was actually threefold: 1) to investigate the effect of social origin variables on the status projections of females, 2) to show how these effects may be mediated by a set of intervening attitudinal variables, and 3) to assess the stability of these status projections over time.

A review of the theoretical literature pertaining to occupational choice and status attainment was first presented, focusing primarily on the Blau-Duncan (Blau & Duncan, 1967) and Wisconsin (Sewell, et al., 1969, 1970) models of status attainment, and the theoretical work of Ginzberg (1951). Attention was then placed on the special case of women, including such factors as the career patterns of females, marital mobility, role-modeling, socialization influences, the relationship between sex and status attainment, and the sex-typed dimension of the occupational hierarchy.

With these theories in mind, a broad conceptual model of the status attainment process for females was developed. This model was cast within a systems framework, emphasizing the antecedent, intervening, and dependent variables operative in the process. Utilizing this framework, a more restricted model was then developed. Specifically, this model posited father's education,

mother's education, and main breadwinner's occupation as three measures of social origin. The intervening attitudinal variables included level of educational aspiration, level of occupational aspiration, and level of degree of work, measured in 1966. The dependent variables in the model were these same three status projection variables, measured in 1968.

Relevant empirical literature was then reviewed, including the effect of social origin variables on status projections, the argument for mediation effects, and the stability of status projections over time. In keeping with the theoretical and empirical literature, six propositions were then developed. These theoretical propositions provided the basis for secondary analysis on data from the Southern Youth Study. Specifically, a panel of white females from non-metropolitan areas in the states of Georgia, South Carolina, and Texas was used for the present study.

To facilitate the presentation, the results of this study are organized according to the theoretical propositions, followed by short discussions of mediation effects and attitude stability.

Proposition One stated that social origin variables would be directly related to and affect level of educational aspiration in 1966. Both father's and mother's education were found to exert statistically significant influences on the female's level of educational aspiration, which was anticipated. Somewhat unexpectedly,

the third measure of social origin, main breadwinner's occupation, was found to have almost no effect on the educational plans of the girl. It was still felt, however, that the data supported Proposition One, which indicated that social origin was positively related to level of educational aspiration. This finding was consistent with much of the past research in the area of status attainment (Sewell, et al., 1969, 1970; Alexander & Eckland, 1974; Bayer, 1969a).

Similarly support was obtained for Proposition Two, which stated that social origin variables would be directly related to and affect level of occupational aspiration in 1966. It was found that mother's education had by far the most significant effect on the occupational plans of the girl, and it was suggested that this relationship could be evidence of role-modeling on the part of the daughters. The zero-order correlations for all measures of social origin were found to be statistically significant, and the results confirmed the hypothesized positive relationship between social origin and level of occupational aspiration.

Proposition Three, which stated that social origin variables would be directly related to and affect level of degree of work in 1966, was rejected. None of the three predetermined variables exerted a statistically significant influence on the dependent variable, and the measures of association were too small to draw meaningful conclusions. The level of degree of work variable was

largely exploratory in nature, therefore, it was concluded that these particular measures of social origin were very poor predictors of the variable, at least as it was conceptualized in the present analysis.

Support was obtained for the fourth proposition, however, which stated that social origin variables and status projections at Wave I (1966) would be directly related to and affect level of educational aspiration at Wave II (1968). All six hypothesized relationships were found to be positive, with five of the six being statistically significant. In addition, a substantial portion (55 percent) of the variation in level of educational aspiration was explained by the social origin and earlier status projection variables.

Proposition Five hypothesized that social origin variables and earlier status projections would be directly related to and affect level of occupational aspiration at Wave II (1968). Again, the data supported the hypothesized positive relationships, with four of the six effects being statistically significant. In terms of predictive power, mother's education was the best predictor among the social origin variables, and both level of educational aspiration and level of occupational aspiration were good predictors among the status projection variables. This was expected in light of prior research which emphasized the relationship between educational and occupational plans (Alexander & Eckland, 1974, Sewell, et al., 1969, 1970).

Finally, Proposition Six was rejected. Like Proposition Three, level of degree of work was posited as the dependent variable, and although the relationships were somewhat stronger than those observed between social origin variables and status projections in 1966, the relationships were still too small to provide support for the proposition. These findings confirm the model's inability to predict the level of degree of work variable.

The argument for mediation effects was largely supported for the relationships depicted in Propositions Four and Five. The effect of main breadwinner's occupation did not appear to undergo mediation by the intervening variables, but this was probably the result of the weak relationships previously observed between this variable and the status projection variables. The effects of mother's education and father's education on levels of educational and occupational aspiration in 1968 were mediated by the status projections in 1966, as expected.

The last discussion pertains to the stability of status projections over time. Levels of educational and occupational aspiration were found to exhibit a good deal of stability between Waves I and II. While some variation did occur, the mean scores indicated that on the aggregate, the levels of educational and occupational aspiration expressed in 1966 were maintained over the two year period between waves of the study.

Implications

In the summary section of this chapter, the highlights of the empirical findings were presented. To summarize the interpretation of the results, a general discussion of the theoretical implications is provided in this section.

Previous studies in the area of status attainment for women noted that origin status was found to be directly related to subsequent educational and occupational projections, as well as eventual attainments (Sewell & Shah, 1968; Alexander & Eckland, 1974; Bayer, 1969a; Tulley, et al., 1975). The present study reinforces this finding on attitudes, particularly in regard to the effects of parental education on the female's educational and occupational projections. The educational attainment of both parents significantly influenced the daughter's educational aspirations and expectations, which would suggest that the atmosphere in the home is more conducive to plans to pursue higher levels of education if one or both parents had themselves obtained additional schooling.

The occupational projections of the female, however, were influenced much more by the mother's education than by father's education or main breadwinner's occupation. This supports the notion that the mother's role as a model or a definer is extremely important for the daughter (Risch & Beymer, 1967; Herr, 1970; Klemmack & Edwards, 1973; Sell, 1974). The importance of mother's education on the female's status projections should encourage

future researchers to continue to include this variable as a measure of social origin. In addition, because of the apparent role-modeling on the part of the daughters, mother's occupation might also be an important predetermined variable to include in a model of status attainment for women.

The occupational projections of these females indicated that they held extremely traditional values. Approximately 60 percent of the girls (N=138) projected themselves in one of four occupations on the Duncan SEI: beautician, nurse, stenographer, or school teacher, which suggests that they will serve to perpetuate the sexual imbalance in the labor force by filtering into those occupations already dominated by women. This may indicate that ten years ago, females in rural areas were still unaware of the various occupational opportunities which existed in the labor market. Therefore, it would appear that significant others in the school system (i.e., teachers, guidance counselors, etc.) should attempt to make these occupations known to the females, particularly as they approach graduation from high school. By widening their perceived occupational opportunity structure, more of these girls may come to view higher status occupations as viable roles for the future.

As anticipated, when intervening attitudinal variables were introduced into the system, the direct effects of social origin variables on educational and occupational projections were largely mediated. This finding is also consistent with previous research

in the area of status attainment (Sewell, et al., 1969, 1970; Bayer, 1969b).

This mediation suggests that the social origin of the family is not directly transferred to the daughter, but rather, exerts an indirect influence on her status projections and eventual attainments via intervening variables such as significant other influence, the formation of aspirations and expectations, etc. This is not to say that family SES cannot play an important role in the status attainment process for females. Certainly, families of high SES are more apt to live in neighborhoods with good schools where their daughters will encounter encouragement from teachers and peers to continue schooling, and so on. Low SES families, on the other hand, may not have the financial resources to provide for further education for their offspring and would, instead, encourage their daughters to seek employment in the labor market after graduation from high school. The results of this study do indicate, however, that the goal of high status attainment can be largely an individual effort (irrespective of family SES) when supplemented by high levels of aspiration and significant other encouragement.

The females' levels of educational and occupational aspiration were found to be quite stable between their sophomore and senior years in high school. Although variations did occur, it appeared that on the aggregate, the levels of aspiration were maintained between 1966 and 1968. According to Ginzberg (1951), as the

individual matures, her status projections will become increasingly more realistic. In other words, the goals will have increasingly greater probability for actual attainment. The females in this panel approximated the ages in the tentative and realistic stages of development in Ginzberg's theory. No major changes, however, were noted in their aspirations and expectations as they approached high school graduation, and because this analysis did not extend to eventual attainments, it was impossible to determine how "realistic" the levels of aspiration actually were for these girls.

The final discussion involves the conceptually new variable, level of degree of work. This variable was intended to measure the female's anticipation of time spent in the labor force after marriage. It was found, however, that the social origin and status projection variables posited in the recursive model had virtually no effect on level of degree of work, and the model failed to explain variation in this variable. The major shortcoming was thought to be the inability to assess the female's motivation behind her plans to work on either a part-time or full-time basis outside the home after marriage, if at all. The omission of this aspect made interpretation extremely difficult. It was suggested that future research include investigation of such variables as marital and fertility plans, and the desired or expected occupational status for the spouse. These variables are believed to be strongly related to the female's plans to pursue a

career outside the home, therefore, their inclusion in the system should greatly improve the model's efficacy.

Limitations

The final discussion in this chapter pertains to limitations which may have biased the results and which should be considered to avoid errors in interpretation and application.

The first limitation has to do with the sample used in this analysis. It should be remembered that a panel of white females from non-metropolitan areas in Georgia, South Carolina, and Texas made up the data base for this thesis. Generalizing these results to other populations would be questionable, with the possible exception of other white females in rural areas in the Deep South. Even this might be inappropriate because the present analysis combined the information from the three different states. The finding, therefore, might be an inaccurate representation of any one particular area in the South. No between-state comparisons were made, so this distortion remains a possibility.

Additionally, the sample was extremely small (N=138) and the treatment of missing data may have biased the results more than expected. Duncan's SEI also proved to be somewhat problematic because of the recoding that was necessary to work with "housewife" responses for occupational aspirations or expectations. In view of the large number of females who expected to be housewives, the recoding procedure may have distorted the overall picture of occupational projections.

Perhaps the most important consideration of all is the fact that this was not a random sample. As mentioned in Chapter III, a purposively selected set of schools was drawn in Georgia and Texas, and a stratified random sample was drawn in South Carolina. The other assumptions necessary for path analysis (i.e., linearity, equal variance, etc.) may also have been violated, but this remains open to question.

In panel studies such as this, the problem of interviewer bias may influence the results. Particularly since there were different interviewers at subsequent waves of the Southern Youth Study, the possibility for bias may appear fairly great. However, the questionnaire items used at Waves I and II had a majority of fixed-choice responses, and questionnaires in general allow for less interviewer bias than personal interviews.

It should also be pointed out that the variables selected for this analysis represent only a small number of those meaningfully related to female status projections. As mentioned in Chapter V, variables such as marital and fertility plans, and the projected status of the spouse, would probably have great bearing on the female's status projections. Inclusion of these variables in the recursive model should improve the model's predictability, and in turn, increase understanding of the formation and stability of educational and occupational projections.

In conclusion, there are definitely shortcomings in the present analysis, but these should not negate the findings to an appreciable extent. Rather, they should primarily serve to alert future researchers to analytic problems, and encourage caution in applying these results to other populations.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS USED

This appendix contains the questions which were used to measure the variables considered in this analysis.

Although the instruments used in the different states at Waves I and II were comparable, there were slight discrepancies. Therefore, to facilitate the presentation of the questionnaire items used to measure the status projection variables, the following abbreviations were used: each state is represented by the first initial only, followed by the last two digits of the year the question was asked. For example, G66 means the question was asked in the Georgia study in 1966.

Parental Education

22. What was the highest school grade completed by your father and mother? (Circle one number for father and one number for mother.)

Father		Mother
1	Did not go to school.	1
2	Grade 1-7.	2
3	Eighth grade.	3
4	Some high school but didn't graduate.	4
5	Graduated from high school.	5
6	Went to vocational school after graduating from high school.	6
7	Some college but didn't graduate.	7
8	College graduate (4 years).	8
9	Don't know.	9

Main Breadwinner's Occupation

26. What is the main job held by the major money earner of your home? (Write your answer in the following box. Give a specific job, not the company or place worked for.)

ANSWER: [ ]

Educational Aspirations

G66 SC66 T66 25. If you could have as much education as you desired and were completely free to choose, which of the following would you do? (Circle only one number.)

1 Quit high school and never go to school again.

2 Quit high school and take some vocational training for a job.

3 Graduate from high school and never go to school again.

4 Graduate from high school and then complete a business, commercial, nurses training, or some other technical school program.

5 Graduate from a junior college.

6 Graduate from a college or university.

7 Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university.

G68 SC68 T68 13. If you could have as much schooling as you <u>desired</u>, which of the following would you do? (Circle only one number.)

1 Quit school right now.

2 Complete high school.

3 Complete a business, commercial, electronics, or some other technical program after finishing high school.

4 Graduate from a junior college (2 years).

5 Graduate from a college or university.

6 Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university.

Educational Expectations

T66 SC66 25. What do you <u>really</u> <u>expect</u> to do about your education? (Circle one number.)

1 Quit high school and never go to school again.

2 Quit high school and take some vocational training for a job.

3 Graduate from high school and never go to school again.

4 Graduate from high school and then complete a business, commercial, nurses training, or some other trade school program.

5 Graduate from a junior college.

6 Graduate from a college or university.

7 Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university.

C66 31. Same as T66

C68 SC68 T68 14a. What do you <u>really</u> <u>expect</u> to do about your education? (Circle one number.)

1 Quit school right now.

2 Complete high school.

3 Complete a business, commercial, electronics, or some other technical program after finishing high school.

4 Graduate from a junior college (2 years).

5 Graduate from a college or university.

6 Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university.

Occupational Aspirations

G68 SC66 SC68 T68 9. If you were completely free to choose any job, what would you most like to do as a lifetime kind of work? (In answering this question, give an exact job. For example, do not say work on the railroad, or in a factory or in an office, but tell what specific railroad, factory or office job you would like to have.) Write your answer in the box below.

ANSWER: [ ]

G66 T66 15a. Same as G68

Occupational Expectations

G66 T66 23. What kind of job do you really expect to have most of your life? (Write your answer in the box below. Please give an exact job!)

ANSWER: [ ]

Degree of Work Projections

G66 G68 SC66 G-3(a) What do you want to do about work outside the home after you are married? (Circle one number.)

SC68 T66 T68 G-3(b) What do you actually expect to do about work outside the home after you are married? (Circle one number.)

	Want	Expect
1	Not work outside the home at all.	1
2	Work part-time until I have a child.	2
3	Work full-time until I have a child.	3
4	Work part-time even after I have children.	4
5	Work full-time even after I have children.	5

VITA

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